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THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
SIAM SOCIETY.

26076
VOLUME XI.
(PART 1).

891.05
J. S. S.

BANGKOK
1914.

Issued to Members of the Society

August, 1914.

LONDON:

LUZAC & CO.

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THE SIAM SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED 1904.)

For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science
and Literature in relation to Siam, and neighbouring
countries.

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The Unofficial Mission of John Morgan, merchant, to Siam in 1821.

The foreign relations between Great Britain and Siam up to the time of King Mongkut were carried on through the East India Company, which had extended its influence over a part of the Malay Peninsula.

After the destruction of Ayuthia and after the King Khun Luang Tak, who had established the Capital of Siam in Thanaburi, had been deposed by Chao Phya Maha Suk Songram, who afterwards ascended the throne as Phra Buddha Yot Fah, it was the chief concern of the Kings to consolidate the empire. The outlying provinces and dependencies were not directly governed from Bangkok, and as far as the dependencies of the Malay Peninsula were concerned, their supervision was entrusted to the chiefs of Ligore and Singora, acting under the Kralahom, whilst the administration of the northern provinces was entrusted to the Mahat Thai Department, and the seaboard provinces near the capital were administered through the Foreign Office. After the Burmese war, the outlying provinces had all, more or less, tried to become independent of the central power, and had arrogated to themselves the power of making treaties. These dependencies enjoyed from olden times home-rule, and they were only bound to acknowledge the sovereign power by sending to it tokens of respect and by assisting the central Government in all warlike operations. But what foreign relations existed were of course controlled from the capital. Subsidies were at that time specially expected in the numerous raids and wars against the Burmese, for after the destruction of Ayuthia in 1767 no formal peace had been signed and a latent state of war always existed.

The East India Company had always desired to get a foothold on the Malay Peninsula and thus to forestall the extension of Dutch power, and only in 1824 a treaty was made between Holland and

Great Britain clearly defining their spheres of influence in the Malay Archipelago. The opportunity to extend the influence of Great Britain was therefore considered propitious when, in 1782, the Rajah of Kedah offered to the East India Company a strip of land for an annual payment in the hope that the company would assist him in his quarrels with his superior the King of Siam. When Captain Light on behalf of the East India Company, in 1786, made a treaty with the Rajah of Kedah, the information was withheld that Kedah owed allegiance to Siam and the consequence was that the construction put on the meaning of the clauses of the treaty laid the foundation of all future disagreements with the sovereign power, who however never seems to have seriously contested the validity of the territorial cession. All subsequent treaties, such as that of May 1791 regarding the mutual surrender of fugitive slaves, and for the supply of provisions, and the treaty of 1796 made by Sir George Leith which stipulated for the further cession of a piece of territory (Province Wellesley), were construed in different ways by the Rajah of Kedah and the East India Company. The policy of the Company was not to interfere with the internal affairs of the different chieftains of the Malay Peninsula, whilst they construed any cession made as a promise to render actual assistance. Kedah had certainly by her behaviour lost the good will of the Sovereign power and when Kedah applied to Penang for interference in its favour with Siam, the question was referred to the Central Government. This last returned the same answer which was afterwards incorporated in the instructions given to Crawford on his official Embassy to Siam, and the record is therefore worth quoting :

"In the year 1813-1814 an application was received by the Government of Prince of Wales's Island from the King of Queda, for the friendly interference of the British Government in his favour with his superior, the King of Siam. On that occasion, the Government of Prince of Wales Island referred the question to the consideration of the Supreme Government, when it was determined that, whatever might be the claim which the King of Queda might be thought to possess to the attention and regard of the British Government, our mediation for the adjustment of the differences subsisting between Siam and that country might lead us into an embarrassing participation in the interests and concerns of one or both States; and the Government of Penang was accordingly instructed to limit its proceedings to opening a communication with the King of Siam, and address-

ing a letter to him, framed in conformity with the views and principles which were distinctly laid down for its guidance."

The East India Company was always guided by these principles and, whilst certainly amongst the merchants established in Penang there was a desire to extend the British influence over the whole of Kedah, the Penang Government kept a cool head and, whenever appealed to by Kedah for advice and help, gave the plain advice not to enter into political intrigues with Burmah, which had unofficially approached Kedah to render assistance in the intended invasion of Siam. Kedah seemed inclined to follow the advice tendered, but it showed otherwise a pronounced passive resistance to orders which were transmitted by the Bangkok Government, so that finally the Central Government deputed the Rajah of Ligore to suspend the Rajah of Kedah until he offered apologies and submitted to Bangkok. The "Ligorian" sent word to the British authorities of all he was doing and he advised the Rajah to submit to what appeared the lawful command of the Central Government. This the latter would not do and took refuge in Penang.

Necessarily all these transactions interested the Indian Government, and it was decided to send an official Mission to Siam with the view of establishing the relations on a sound basis, of arranging the Kedah affair and also of seeing what might be done with regard to the development of trade, especially as Portugal, the United States and Holland were eager to extend their trade to Siam. For this purpose Crawford was selected by the Calcutta Government, and he has written a long and faithful account of his mission to Siam and Cochin China. In the meanwhile also the newly established Colony of Singapore had thought it expedient to enter into direct commercial relations with Siam and to acquire an unbiased knowledge of things there. So they tried the experiment of entrusting with this mission a merchant who, they thought, would combine it with his commercial venture untrammelled by political etiquette. The person so selected was one Mr. Morgan, of Singapore, who was recommended for that position by one Mr. Palmer, of Calcutta, who was financially interested in the venture. Mr. Morgan received very full instructions and was to deliver a letter addressed to the King of Siam by the resident councillor of Singapore, Colonel Farquhar, and he was guaranteed against all possible losses in his venture. In his instructions it was made quite clear that he

was only to speak in his own name and not commit the Government by any act. Mr. Morgan purchased and loaded a small boat "Non me recordo" of 70 tons burden, in Singapore, and left for Siam on the 25th of April 1821, arriving there on May 15th. On his arrival he had an interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who in the evening conducted him to an audience with Krom Mūn Chesda, the later King Phra Nang Klao. At that time Siam was making preparations for a war with Burmah and it is known that during a number of years Siamese troops had been sent to the frontiers "to catch Burmese." In fact it was only at the death of the King Phra Buddha Lōt La that the troops were recalled. Siam thought it expedient, whenever opportunity offered, to ascertain what position the British Government would assume and whether it would remain neutral, and they were consequently glad of the mission. Morgan, to whom these questions were put, answered them diplomatically without committing himself, under the plea that he was a merchant and did not know anything about the matter, and to the question whether Great Britain would assist Burmah in case of war and to the subsequent remark that it would be better for Great Britain not to do so also kept diplomatic silence. Evidently, however, Krom Mūn Chesda was satisfied with the answer received, and on the 5th of June early in the morning a boat was sent by the Foreign Minister for Mr. Morgan to conduct him to an audience with the King. The presents which were sent by Colonel Farquhar were displayed before the throne as well as those which Morgan himself had brought, and a letter addressed to the King was read aloud.* Morgan conformed to the usual ceremonies and the King addressed to him the customary enquiry about the health of the resident and also enquired about the abandonment of Malacca, about the newly established settlement of Singapore, and why he had not brought muskets which he knew were wanted. After these questions permission was granted to Morgan to carry on trade without let or hindrance, which he did, believing that after the permission made to him his venture would prove very successful. He was, however, disappointed and he ascribed his non-success partly to the interference of the Chulias and native Portuguese, in whose hands the trade was and who necessarily looked upon him as an interloper, and it may be here mentioned, that Crawford, Burney and Malloch held the

* See appendix.

same opinion about them. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that Morgan imported opium, which was absolutely forbidden to be imported, and clandestinely disposed of it, a fact which was certainly known to the authorities. The only excuse that Morgan could make was that in this trade a beautiful profit was made, and that all high officials and Chinese were interested in it. He admits on the other hand, as a further excuse, that the only persons using opium were the Chinese. Morgan in all his trading transactions did not forget the semi-official mission with which he was entrusted, and he came to the conclusion "that any treaty that could be made could not protect merchants from the frauds practised on them without some person being on the spot to represent them." In a subsequent audience Morgan had with Krom Mun Chesda, the question of British trade was raised and he was asked whether the British wanted a factory in Siam. In accordance with his instructions he replied he would report about it. It is curious to notice that in the instructions Crawford received and in the letter which he was to deliver to the King, it was especially mentioned that the Government did not desire to establish a factory or a Consulate in Bangkok, and Burney we know likewise repudiated the idea and even went so far as to say that the establishment of a Consulate or factory in Siam would lead to complications. Be that as it may, certainly the establishment of a factory would not have been viewed with favourable eyes by the Portuguese, the relations between whom and Siam were renewed in 1817, when the Governor of Macao had a letter forwarded to the King in which he requested for the establishment of the former intercourse.

The first attempt of the Portuguese was singularly unhappy inasmuch as the person who was to deliver the letter became so excited by the behaviour of the people that he left Siam without waiting for a reply. The letter was, however, afterwards answered and the Consul Silveira took charge of the factory. He received on his mission a stipend of 160 Ticals a month from the Siamese Government and was solely employed in building a ship for a merchant in Macao for which the Siamese Government had also promised him money. He got actually for some time 2,000 Ticals monthly, a sum which was afterwards reduced to 800 Tcs. and finally given up, when Morgan advanced him to 5,000 Dollars for this purpose, a transaction which

when it became known was not conducive to the good name of the Portuguese. The treaty made by the Portuguese was never ratified although sent to Goa for that purpose, as clauses had been inserted to which the Portuguese Government objected ; but it must not be forgotten that according to old rules both Governments accepted silently such clauses as were agreed upon, and it must be therefore surmised that the clauses of the treaty which were agreed upon were considered binding upon both parties. The Consul received from the Government in accordance with old practice a title Hluang Abhai Banit (the merchant by grace), which recognized him as in charge of Portuguese interests, and gave him to a certain extent charge of the foreign trade. This accounts for the intercourse he held with Morgan and for the fact that the Consul duly reported to Goa everything that Morgan was doing.

The trade between Siam and the outside world was mainly in the hands of Chinese and Malays ; as the duties they had to pay on trade were very small, trade was flourishing, and Morgan when he arrived in Bangkok counted 700 junks of all descriptions loading in the river. Trade intercourse with the United States had commenced in 1818 and when Morgan arrived, two American boats loading sugar were in the river, whilst the " Persian," also an American boat, was on her third voyage. She had brought 5,000 muskets for which a ready sale to Government was found and as the Americans had an easy way of giving and taking, the relations between the United States and Siam were very intimate. This was felt to be the more so as it was said that the President of the United States had addressed a letter to the King of Siam by the captain of the first American boat arriving in the country, in which he recommended him to the graces of the King, to whom he brought as a present 300 muskets. Certainly the Americans met with an excellent reception in Siam, especially as they brought firearms which were needed. Moreover it is said that they distinguished themselves by fairness in all their dealings and were consequently well received by the authorities, and all their commercial transactions were quickly concluded. Thus up to August 1821 twelve cargoes had been carried from Siam by American vessels, and it was said that an American factory would soon be established in Bangkok as the profits made in all transactions were good. Intercourse with the Java Government was also renewed at the time and

the Dutch commissioners under Colonel Schreyenstein were well received, but perhaps through misrepresentations no real trade relations were established, and, when the Dutch left, people spoke of warlike demonstrations on the part of Java, owing to alleged kidnapping of Javanese subjects. Nothing however came of it, although Burney in his papers alluded to the misunderstanding arising out of it.

Morgan concluded his affairs and presented a bill of his losses amounting to \$5,200.08 to the Penang Government, and after some correspondence and reports to Calcutta a sum of \$3,612.30 was paid to his firm and \$1,200 for personal expenses. When Morgan left, he received as presents from the King for the Singapore Government 9 pieces of ivory and 53 piculs of sugar. The reports made by Morgan were handed over to Crawford, but the Government did not alter the instructions regarding the establishment of a factory. It is very likely that the meaning Morgan attached to the word "factory" implied something very different from what the Government understood by it. When Morgan arrived in Siam this was a country in which the Government as such engaged in trade. Crawford's mission afterwards can in no way be considered a success, as the time chosen for it was not very opportune and no definite treaty could be signed. When Burney arrived in 1825 the King Phra Nang Klao had ascended the throne and had declared in a proclamation that the Government as such would no longer trade, and had abolished many monopolies. From being purely commercial, the interests of Siam had then become also political.

APPENDIX.

To the KING OF SIAM.

After Compliments.

I beg to acquaint Your Majesty that about two years back the English formed a Settlement in the Straits of Singapore, from which period till the present, no vessel actually belonging to the port has cleared out for Siam, but as there is now a small schooner, the property of English merchants here, about to proceed thither, I cannot permit so favourable an opportunity to pass without addressing Your Majesty the present letter, for the purpose of informing Your Majesty of the new Establishment the British Government has formed here, trusting that it may be the means of strengthening the ties of friendship and reciprocity of kindness between Siam and Singapore in all commercial affairs. Every description of Siamese goods find a ready sale here, particularly such as are at present imported by the Chinese junks sailing out of Your Majesty's ports, and numerous articles in demand at Siam are procurable here.

I send this letter by Mr. John Morgan, a respectable English merchant residing here, whom I beg leave to recommend to your Majesty's favour and protection. Mr. Morgan will be able to afford such further information respecting this settlement as Your Majesty may require.

I regret that I have nothing of suitable value to send your Majesty but as a token of friendship and respect beg Your Majesty's acceptance of a Double Barrel Gun and two mirrors.

(Signed) W. FARQUHAR.

Singapore

9th April, 1821.

LITERATURE :

COPY of "Factory Records, Straits Settlements vol. 84" with reference to Siam. (preserved in the National Library),

A HYBRID DIPTEROCARPUS.

D. obtusifolius × *D. costatus*.

The occurrence of a natural hybrid between two species of *Dipterocarpus* is of considerable interest, no hybrid, as far as the writer is aware, having been hitherto described in this Natural Order.

The parent species of the hybrid were *D. obtusifolius*, Teysm. and *D. costatus*, Gaertn., the latter probably supplying the pollen for the cross. These two species range through about the same degree of altitude on Doi Sutep, where the hybrid is found. *D. costatus* grows in the valleys in fairly dense evergreen jungle, while *D. obtusifolius* is found on the open ridges bordering the valleys. The hybrid grows in a situation between these two, that is, where the open jungle merges into the evergreen of the valley, somewhat on the side of the open jungle. Three of these hybrids have been met with, two of them close together the other about a mile away, but all in the same kind of situation and all with the characteristic fruit. In each case there are trees of *D. obtusifolius* growing within a few yards of the hybrid while the nearest *D. costatus* is at least one hundred yards away. This makes it probable that, to produce the hybrid, *D. obtusifolius* was fertilised with the pollen of *D. costatus*, if it had been the other way about the hybrids would more likely have been in the evergreen near *D. costatus*, the fruits of these trees being carried to no great distance by the wind.

Attention was first drawn to these hybrids owing to their fruit which resemble those of *D. obtusifolius* but are distinguished by having irregular ridges on the calyx tube.

The three hybrid trees are all lofty; one of them in particular reaches a height of about one hundred feet, which is considerably higher than the usual tree of *D. obtusifolius*, though *D. costatus* often attains or exceeds this height. This large tree has been tapped for oil, this is frequently done in the case of *D. costatus* but not *D. obtusifolius*, of which the naturally exuding resin only is used in this locality.

The following descriptions are based on material from the above mentioned large tree, which grows in a more easily accessible situation some distance from the other two trees.

The leaves in size and indumentum resemble those of *D. obtusifolius* but, with their acuminate or acute tip, they are nearer in shape to those of *D. costatus*.

The flowers in size are about midway between the flowers of the parents. In all the flowers the calyx tube is marked by distinct more or less irregular ridges. The stamens and ovary shew some variation; in the first flower examined all the stamens were reduced to sterile scales while the ovary consisted of four imperfect carpels which were quite free from each other, one of them being slightly smaller than the other three, there was no sign of a style; in three other flowers the ovary seemed normal in every way but the stamens again were only scales; in a fifth flower both ovary and stamens were normal, the stamens were dehiscing and shedding their pollen. Unfortunately there were not enough flowers available to enable an estimate of the relative frequency of these abnormalities to be made. Similar conditions are very frequently found in other hybrids.

The fruit, the most characteristic feature of this hybrid, is slightly smaller than the average fruit of *D. obtusifolius* but a good deal bigger than that of *D. costatus*, the enlarged calyx wings resemble those of *D. obtusifolius*; from both species it differs in the ridges on the calyx tube which, unlike those of *D. costatus*, are quite irregular, often they do not run the full length of the calyx tube but start from the middle, or they may commence at one end of the calyx tube as a very slightly raised line finishing at the other as a well marked ridge. The fruit of *D. obtusifolius* has, of course, no ridges.


An attempt was made to germinate two of the fruit of the hybrid, but they showed no sign of germination after ten days while two out of three fruit of *D. obtusifolius* put down at the same time germinated in three or four days.

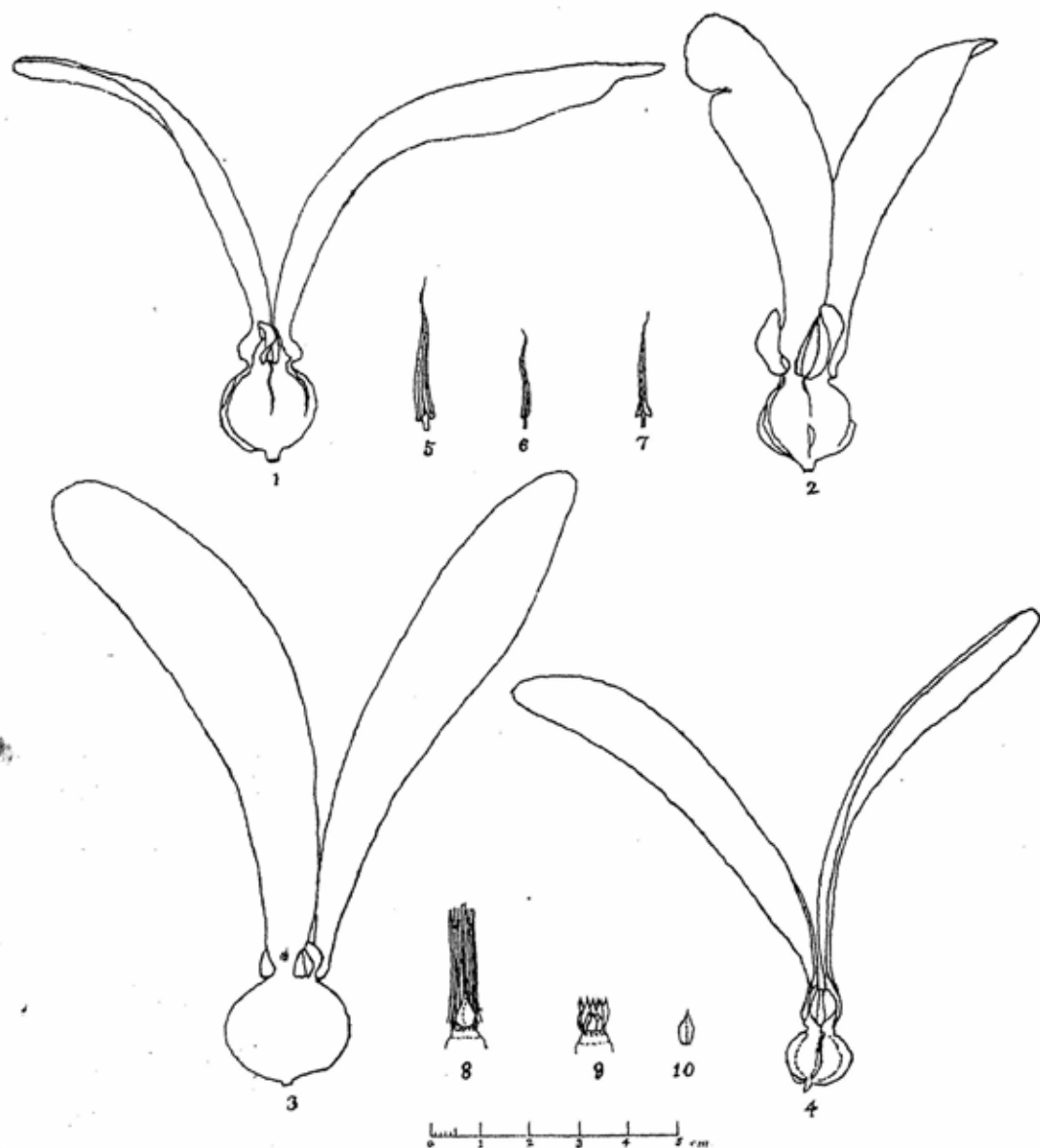
The following table gives the chief distinctions between the hybrid and its two parents :—

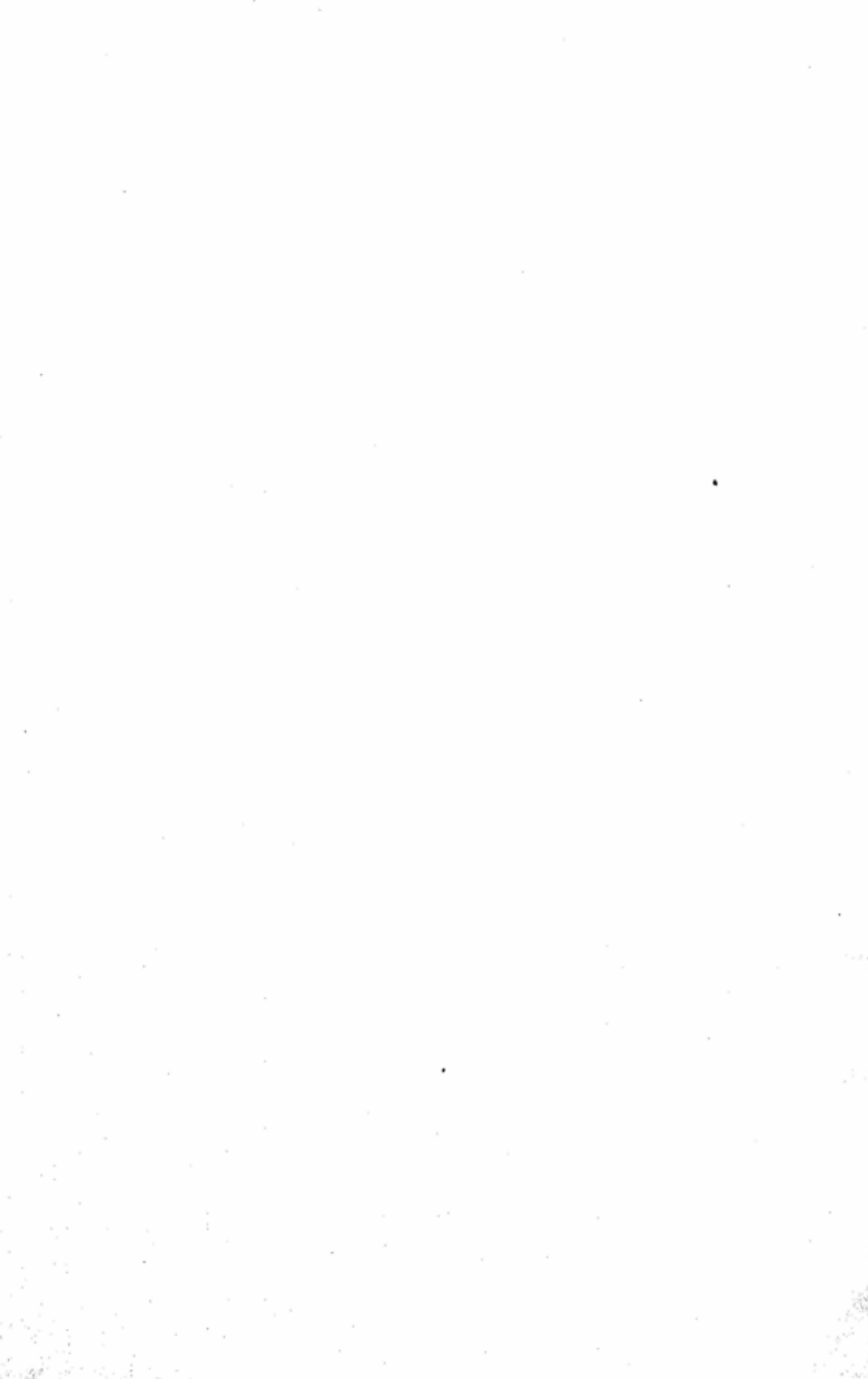
<i>D. obtusifolius.</i>	<i>D. costatus.</i>	<i>The Hybrid.</i>
Leaves with obtuse tip and cordate or rounded base, in size to 23 x 18 cm.*	Leaves with acute or acuminate tip, base acute or rounded, in size to 11 x 7 cm.	Leaves with acute or acuminate tip, base acute or rounded, in size to 16 x 9 cm.
Calyx tube in flower about 1.5 cm. long.	Calyx tube in flower about 0.7 cm. long.	Calyx tube in flower about 0.9 cm. long.
Corolla 4-4.5 cm. long.	Corolla about 2 cm. long.	Corolla 3-3.4 cm. long.
Stamens 1.5 cm. long.	Stamens 1 cm. long.	Stamens (normal) 1.15 cm. long.
Fruit without ridges on calyx tube.	Fruit with regular ridges running the whole length of calyx tube.	Fruit with irregular ridges some of which do not run the whole length of the calyx tube.

* The measurements of leaves are from leaves of full grown trees. Saplings have very much larger leaves.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE.

- Figs. 1 & 2. Fruits of the hybrid, *Dipterocarpus obtusifolius*
× *Dipterocarpus costatus*.
- Fig. 3. Fruit of *Dipterocarpus obtusifolius*.
- Fig. 4. Fruit of *Dipterocarpus costatus*.
- Fig. 5. Stamen of *Dipterocarpus obtusifolius*.
- Fig. 6. Stamen of *Dipterocarpus costatus*.
- Fig. 7. Normal stamen of the hybrid.
- Fig. 8. Normal ovary and stamens of a flower of the hybrid.
- Fig. 9. Abnormal ovary and stamens from another flower
of the hybrid.
- Fig. 10. One of the sterile stamens from the same flower
as fig. 9.
- Figs. 1—4. are drawn to the scale at the foot of the plate.
- Figs. 5—10. twice the magnification of the scale.
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SMALL POX, VACCINATION AND THE NEW VACCINATION LAW IN SIAM.

A paper read before the Siam Society, Bangkok, on the 28th May 1914, by H. Campbell Highet, M. D., D. P. H., Principal Medical Officer, Local Government, Siam, and Vice-President, Siam Society.

Some of you may still remember that at the Seventh International Congress of Hygiene and Demography which was held at London in August 1891. His Majesty King Edward VII. of England, then Prince of Wales, struck the keynote of Preventive Medicine when; in his address as President of the Congress, referring to Tuberculosis, he enunciated the memorable dictum, "If preventible, then why not prevented?"

In this short sentence the future ruler of his people defined the duty of every administration which has the welfare of its people at heart. Once science had shewn the methods by which disease might be prevented, it is evident that the Prince of Wales considered it incumbent upon the Government to put these methods into practice.

Other Sovereigns have, however, been equally anxious that their people should benefit from the discoveries of Medical Science, and, as I hope to show you, the present occupant of the throne of Siam and His three Royal Predecessors have not been slow to apply the memorable discovery of Jenner to the prevention of Small Pox in Siam. The latest phase in the struggle against this devastating disease is the promulgation on the 19th February B. S. 2456 (1914) of the Vaccination Law which enforces compulsory vaccination upon all those persons who reside within the

Province of Bangkok. This date forms a landmark in the history of preventive medicine in Siam, and not only the present generation but countless thousands yet unborn will live to bless the memory of His Majesty King Vajiravudh for promulgating this law, and also for providing the means of applying its blessings free of charge to his people.

Before explaining to you the main principles of this epoch-making Law, I wish to say a few words with reference to Small Pox in Siam, to the introduction and early history of Vaccination in this country and to the more recent preparations which had to be made before Compulsory Vaccination could be introduced.

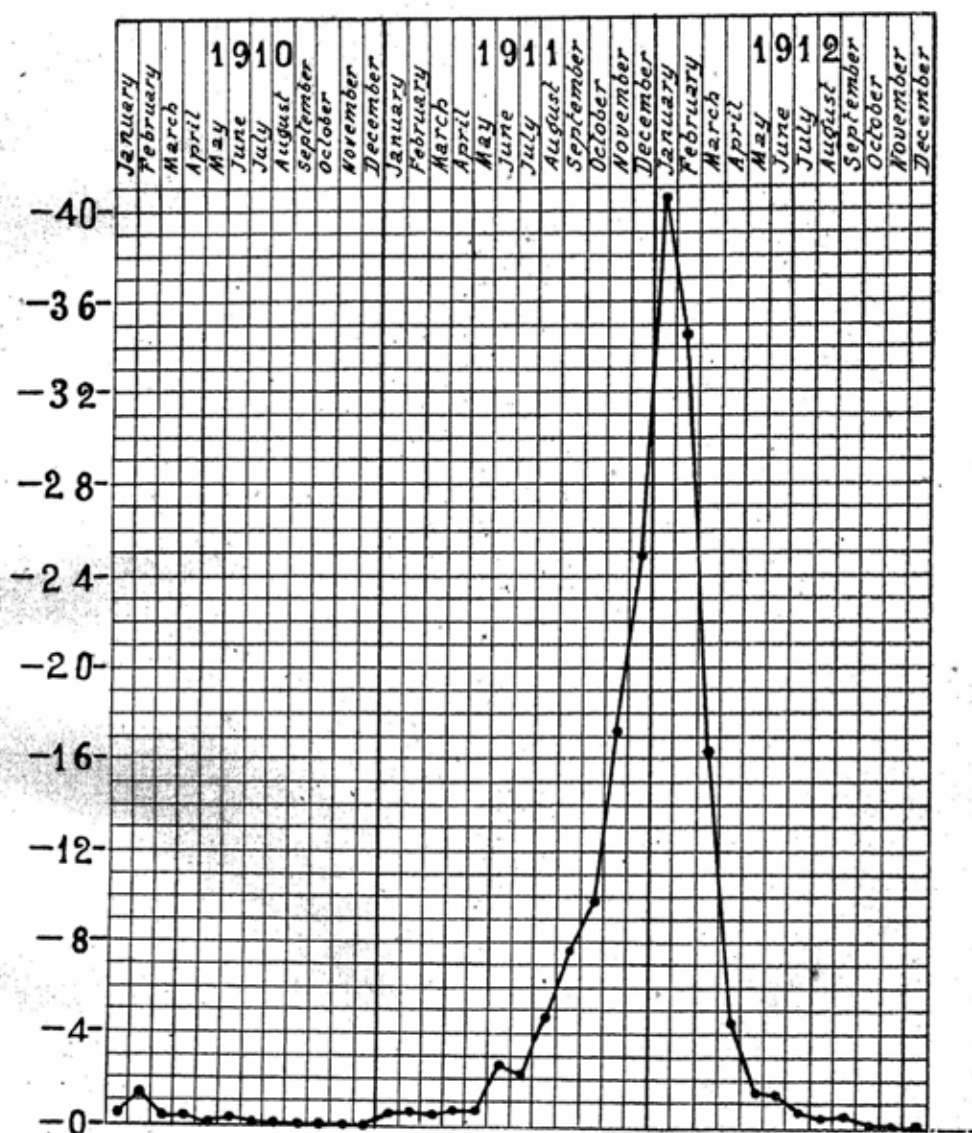
Small Pox in Siam.

Throughout Siam, as in most other Eastern countries which are not yet sufficiently protected by vaccination, Small Pox is endemic, and from time to time takes on an epidemic form. Amongst the Siamese the disease has two names, the classic name being "Kai dara pit" meaning the fever of a very harmful nature, while the vulgar title is "fi dat," the disease characterised by the eruption of boils all over the body. There are no records which show when Small Pox first came to this country.

In Bangkok it would seem that there is a fairly regular cycle of epidemicity. Every three or four years the disease becomes epidemic, persists for a few months, and dies down again for another two or three years. Chart I shows in a striking fashion the natural evolution of such an epidemic. As will be seen from this chart, the disease was in almost complete abeyance during 1910, there having been an epidemic during 1908-1909. During 1911 cases began to be reported as early as January, but the disease smouldered on until August, when the curve is seen to rise steadily to a maximum in January 1912. The fall was rapid during the next few months, and by May only three deaths from small pox were reported. From June to September only one or two deaths were reported monthly and then no more until the end of the year. During the year 1913, there were only a very few cases. We have here an excellent illustration of the natural Small Pox cycle in an unvaccinated population. Although over twenty-five thousand persons were vaccinated by officers of the health department during the months of November and

*D. Hight on "Small Pox, Vaccination
and the New Vaccination Law in Siam"*

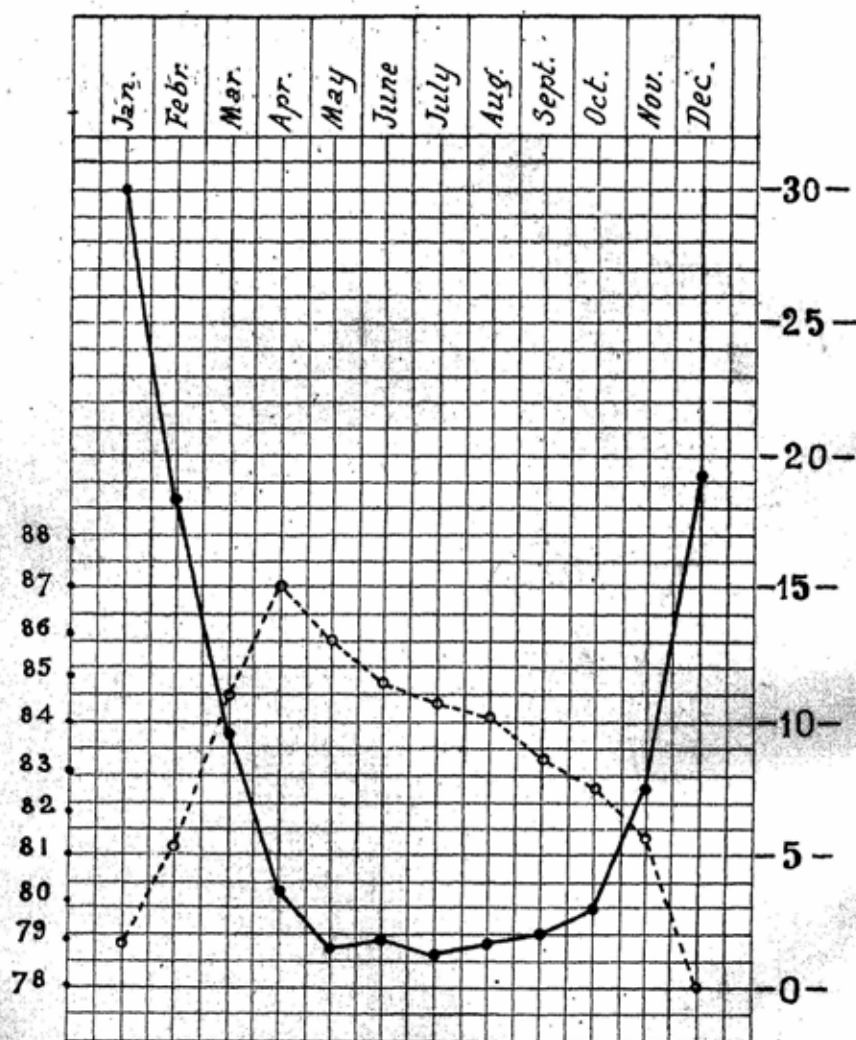
CHART-I-



*Monthly Death-Rate from Small-Pox
shown as a Percentage of the total Deaths
from all causes Month by Month in Bangkok,*

*Dr. Hight on "Small Pox, Vaccination
and the New Vaccination Law in Siam"*

CHART-II-



— Plain lines show Monthly Death-rate in Bangkok from Small-Pox calculated in Percentages of a total of 2594 deaths during three years.

Interrupted lines show the mean atmospheric temperature in Bangkok in degrees Fahrenheit.

December, 1911, and January and February, 1912, and cases of small pox became less frequent thereafter, this small number of vaccinations among such a large population had in my opinion very little influence upon this epidemic. The real reason for the decline was no doubt the fact that most of the susceptible individuals had either died of the disease or were rendered immune by an attack from which they had recovered. The result was a population with a high degree of immunity, but as is self-evident this immunity begins to lessen as soon as the epidemic is over. Infants are born and are not protected by vaccination, or unvaccinated infants and adults migrate into the city, and in the course of two or three years the population is again a susceptible one. Now it happens that the introduction of a case of small pox is like the application of a light to a fuse. The ordinary inhabitant of Bangkok does not seem to fear small pox and certainly is entirely oblivious to the danger either of personal infection or of carrying infection to others. Friends and relatives crowd around a small pox case, assist perhaps in nursing and never think of changing their clothing or disinfecting themselves in any way after having been in contact with a case. One has often seen the patient himself mixing freely with the public in the street or market while yet in a state of desquamation. As infection thus spreads from the early cases the circle widens and a steady rise in the death rate is the result, as may be seen on the chart, until during the cooler months of the year the explosion occurs in the shape of a severe epidemic.

The Seasonal Incidence of Small Pox is shown by Chart II. Thirty per cent of the cases occur during January and nineteen per cent. during December—the coolest months of the year in Bangkok.

The General Death Rate from Small Pox cannot be given in the absence of any knowledge of the number of cases which recovered but of 379 cases under observation in the Hospital for Infectious Diseases 211 died, giving a death-rate of 55.9 per cent.

During the epidemic of 1911-12 the total deaths from Small Pox amounted to 2,368, equal to a mortality of 4.3 per thousand of the population, amounting to 540,679 according to the late census. (Sept. 1909).

The Age at Death in the above cases is given in the following table, which confirms the view that the population of Bangkok is not yet sufficiently protected by vaccination.

Ages at Death from Small Pox.

AGE.	Sex.		Total.	Rate per cent.
	Male.	Female.		
Under 3 months ...	34	32	66	2.7
3 months to 1 year...	277	293	570	24.0
1 to 5 years ...	367	349	716	30.2
5 „ 10 „ ...	120	125	245	10.3
10 „ 20 „ ...	222	132	354	15.0
20 „ 25 „ ...	142	64	206	8.7
25 „ 35 „ ...	125	48	173	7.3
35 „ 45 „ ...	20	6	26	1.0
45 „ 55 „ ...	6	1	7	0.5
55 „ 75 „ ...	0	1	1	
Unknown ...	3	1	4	
	1,316	1,052	2,368	

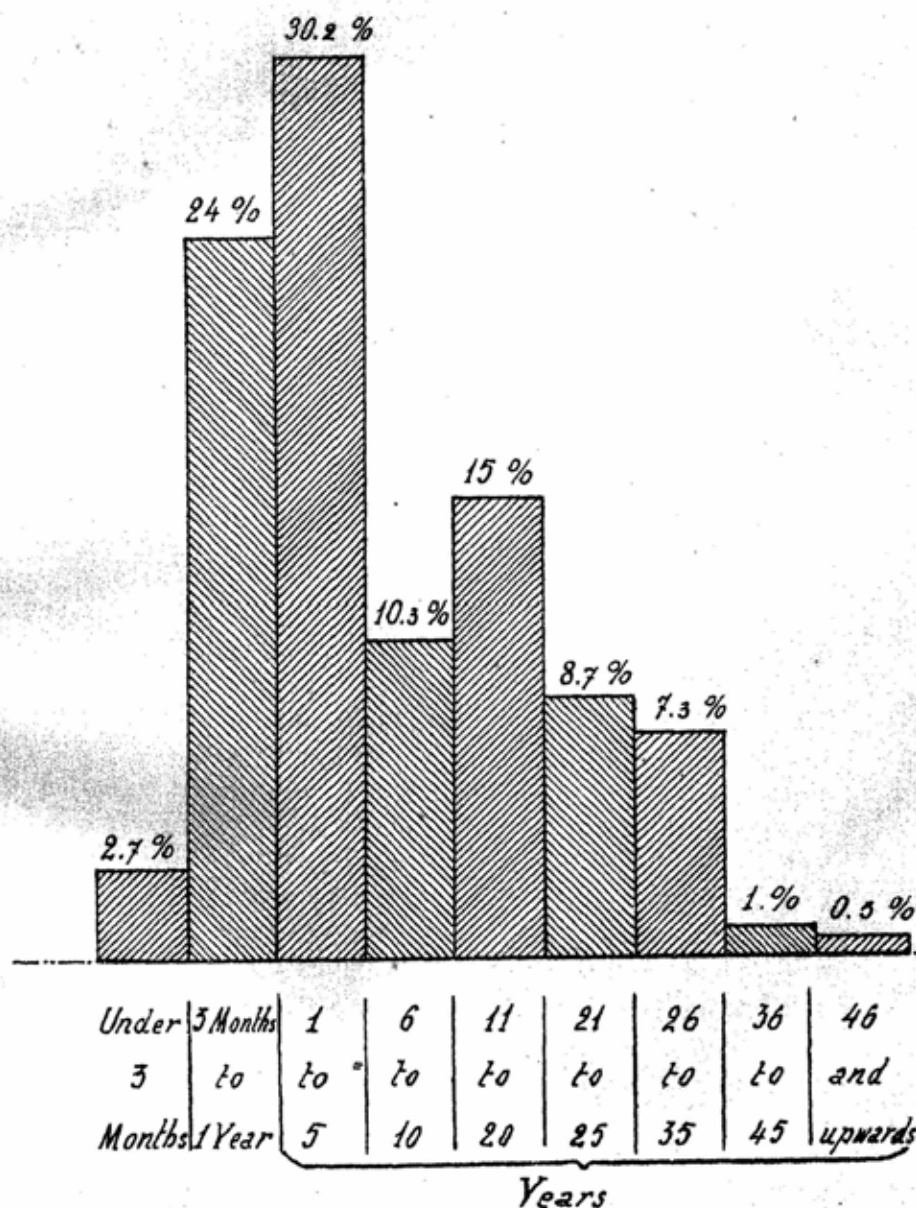
We note then that more than a quarter of these deaths were in infants under one year of age and that 67.2 per cent were in children under 10 years of age, a sure indication that vaccination has not been carried out sufficiently in Bangkok. The diagram shows the proportions very clearly.

Methods of prevention against Small Pox in Siam.

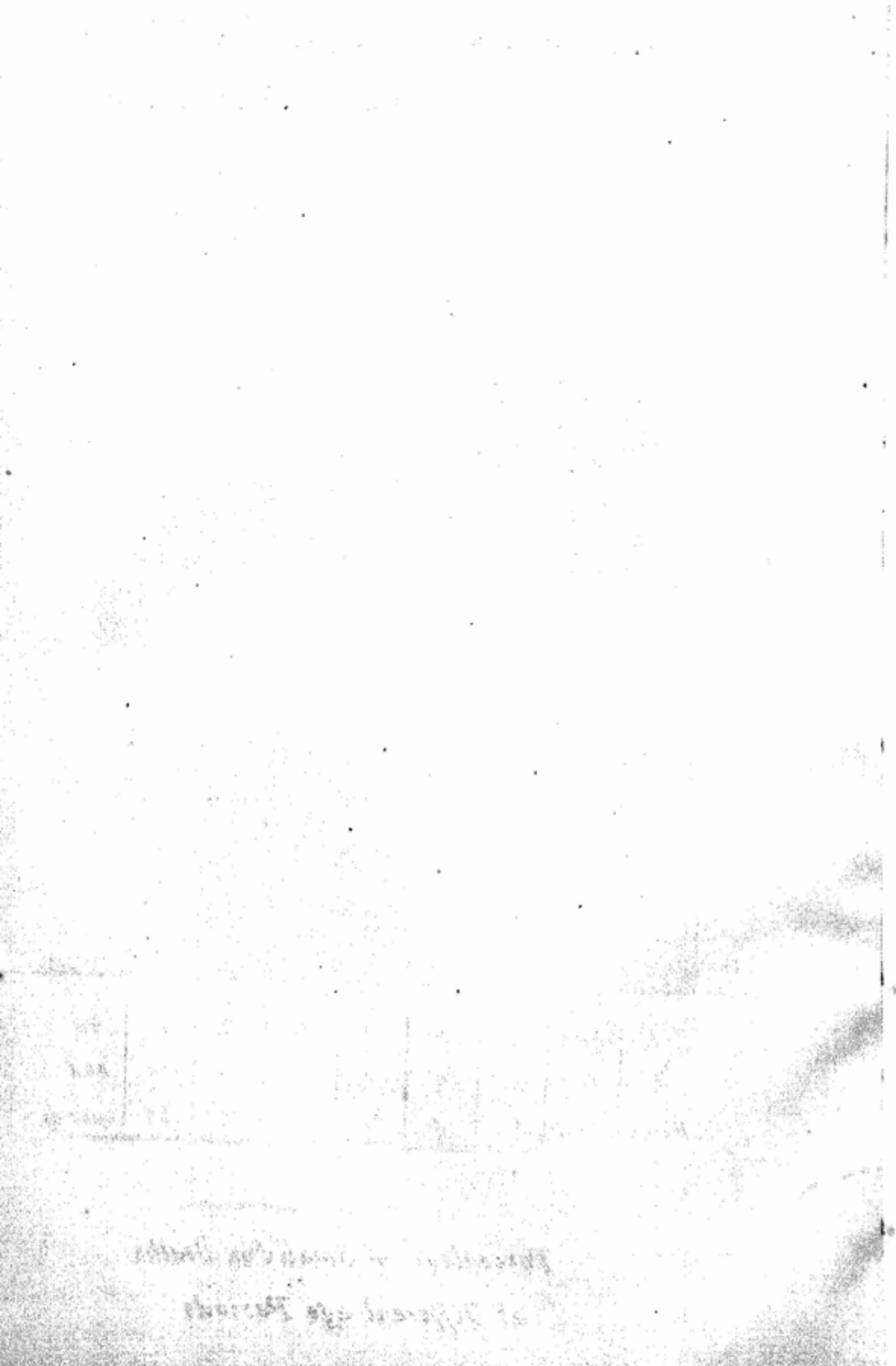
Although I have just demonstrated the fact that vaccination is not carried out sufficiently in Bangkok, it must be remembered that vaccination is popular with the Siamese and has been so since its introduction in January 1840. There are no "conscientious objectors,"

*D^r Hight on "Small Pox, Vaccination
and the New Vaccination Law in Siam."*

CHART-III-



*Percentage of Small-Pox Deaths
at Different age Periods*



and whenever and wherever a vaccinating officer is at work the people readily submit themselves or their children to vaccination.

In the absence of vaccine lymph inoculation is still said to be practised freely in the interior.

The honour of first introducing Inoculation and later on Vaccination into Siam is due to the American Missionaries.

Inoculation against Small Pox in Siam.

As the history of these two movements is of some considerable interest, I may be pardoned if I give here a few historical details. In this respect I cannot do better than quote the words of one of the principal actors in the movement—the late Dr. Bradley—the well known American Missionary and Editor of the “Bangkok Calendar.” In an article entitled “Inoculation for Small Pox,” published in the “Bangkok Calendar” of 1865, Dr. Bradley writes as follows:—

“Inoculation in Siam.”

“There was once a very extraordinary waking up of the Siamese mind to do something to modify the virulence of small pox. It took place in the latter part of A. D. 1838. That annual scourge was unusually widespread and malignant at that time. Great efforts had been made by the missionaries every year for the four previous years to introduce vaccination, but all in vain. Being surrounded by the small pox, with scarcely any hope of shutting it out from their own families, they then felt constrained, by the providence of God, to endeavour to save their children by inoculating them with the small pox. The blessing of the Lord made it a complete success, every one of the subjects of the experiment having taken the modified small pox in the mildest form. His late Majesty the King of Siam, being informed of it, sent a body of the Royal medical faculty to the missionary physician to enquire into the matter, and then make to him a full report of their investigations. It was a very novel and exciting event for those early years of Protestant Missions, to be visited by such a Committee, from such a monarch. Those servants of the king were very particular and thorough in their enquiries, for they had a great charge in hand, and a stern master to serve.

“ About that time, there was issued, from the Press of the
 “ A. B. C. F. M. in this city, a little tract in the Siamese language,
 “ setting forth the advantages of inoculating for small pox over having
 “ it the natural way, and the wisdom of the former course when the
 “ scourge is pressing fearfully upon one, and it is impossible to obtain
 “ the vaccine virus. A copy of this was sent to the king, and it was
 “ eagerly sought for and read by princes, lords, and the commoners.
 “ Presently ten or twelve royal physicians were ordered by the king to
 “ visit the missionary physician daily, for the purpose of seeing his
 “ practice in inoculating and treating the small pox thus modified and
 “ divested of its virulence, and in this way to qualify themselves for
 “ inoculating in the royal palace. Having faithfully studied the art
 “ a few days with praiseworthy proficiency, they were armed with
 “ lancets, and required to inoculate all that were unprotected in the
 “ palace of the king, and in the palaces of the princes, and in the
 “ families of the nobles and lords, and other officers of government, in
 “ the city and out of the city. Other native doctors were encouraged
 “ by the king to follow this royal example, who extended the work, it
 “ is believed, into many of the provinces of Siam.

“ Inoculation was then the engrossing business and care, not
 “ only of nearly all the native physicians, but also of a large proportion
 “ of the better classes of the people, from the beginning of the year
 “ 1839 until the month of April. It is impossible to estimate the
 “ many thousands that were within that period inoculated ; and it is
 “ very remarkable that amongst them all, there was not, probably, more
 “ than one case in five hundred that proved fatal, until the hot season
 “ was ushered in, when the work became so much less successful,
 “ that it was suspended.

“ The king then evinced his high appreciation of the blessings
 “ of inoculation by presenting to each of the royal physicians, who had
 “ labored in the work, a purse of silver varying from eight to four
 “ hundred ticals, and to the missionary physician a purse of two
 “ hundred and forty ticals.

“ So generally was inoculation accounted a perfect success, that
 “ those who had been waked up and blessed by it, wished for nothing
 “ better to take its place ; and consequently it became subsequently an
 “ obstacle to the introduction of vaccination ; because it was regarded
 “ as almost as safe, and always a more certain protection against small
 “ pox in the natural way, than vaccination.”

“Inoculation was not without its dangers, however, and when vaccination came into vogue, inoculation was abandoned for a safe method of prevention.”

Vaccination in Siam.

As has been already seen, the introduction of vaccination had been attempted for several years previous to the adoption of inoculation, but it was not until the middle of January 1840 that the first active vaccine scabs were brought to Siam by an American Missionary from Boston U. S. A. via the Cape of Good Hope. On the arrival of the vaccine scabs great difficulty was experienced in obtaining subjects for vaccination, but fortunately the then Prime Minister—Somdej Ong Yai—came to the rescue. He placed seventy-five children at the disposal of the missionaries and out of a total of 450 insertions, three or four good pustules were found on the 6th day. From these vaccine was propagated and over a hundred persons were vaccinated, but at the end of three months, the virus lost its efficiency.

In November 1842 small pox again appeared in an epidemic form, and the following quotation from Doctor Bradley's paper shows the great difficulties which the missionaries had to contend against in their campaign against Small Pox :—

“Failing to procure vaccine virus from abroad, they then made great effort to procure it from the cow, by inoculating many of them with the small pox. His late Majesty, Phra Bat Somdej Phra Nang Klow, having been memorialized by them on the subject of vaccination, kindly offered them all the cows they might need for the experiment, going so far even, as to propose to have them transported by ferry boats to the west side of the river, where the missionaries were living, if they should prefer it. While the missionary physician was experimenting on the dugs of the cows, his own infant daughter, aged seven months, took the small pox in the natural way and, after nineteen days of terrible suffering, died with the lockjaw. It was only the evening before the day on which he discovered that his babe had been seized by the scourge, that he made up his mind that he must inoculate her and all the infant children of the missionaries, to save them from the virulence of the destroyer. While he was too late for the former, he was in good time for the latter, who all had the inoculated small pox in a mild

"form excepting one who died of erysipelas, a sequence of the
"disease.

"Vaccination was resuscitated August 1844 from scabs which
"were sent from Boston, U. S., overland, being enveloped in a little
"bees-wax. It was propagated with unusual energy and thoroughness
"by the mission of the A. B. C. F. M. from that time onward for a
"period of about ten months, when the work was again stopped for the
"want of fresh virus from the pustules of living subjects. About
"one thousand three hundred persons were thoroughly vaccinated
"during that period out of about two thousand subjects experimented
"upon.

"After an interval of a year or more, the blessing was again
"brought back through the influence of an American friend sending
"the virus overland as before; and thus it came and departed, with
"intervals varying from one year to two, until Dr. Campbell, R.N.,
"F.R.G.S.L., in giving to it more thorough attention at all times, for
"a period of five or six years, has kept it with us much the greater
"part of the time, and has done great good by it. It is now a settled
"blessing, not only to the families of all European and American
"residents of Bangkok, but also to the Siamese in general, among
"whom it is slowly winning, week by week, a wider range of
"confidence and usefulness."

It was not until the year 1904, that the Siamese Government undertook the preparation of calf lymph in Bangkok. A Vaccine Laboratory was then opened at Si Kak Phya Sei by the Hospital Department, and large quantities of calf lymph were supplied to the public. It was soon found that more commodious premises were required and a Serum and Vaccine Laboratory was installed at Phrapatom and work was commenced there in August 1906 (Siamese Era R. S. 125).

Considering the fact that vaccination was first introduced into the country by Americans, it is peculiarly appropriate that the Vaccine Laboratory at Phrapatom should have been started by an American—Doctor Paul Wooley—and that on his retirement, he should have been replaced by another American Graduate—Doctor Edwards. The United States of America deserve all honour for the splendid work which their sons have done in the cause of vaccination in Siam.

During the year 1912 the Vaccine Laboratory was merged in the Pasteur Institute under the immediate supervision of Doctors Manaud and Robert—both of whom have been trained in the Pasteur Institute at Paris. During the past seven years 1,890,596 doses of vaccine lymph have been issued to the public and still Small Pox continues to levy a heavy toll upon the population and more especially upon the infants of Siam.

When examining recruits for the police, I have for some years past noted their condition with regard to vaccination or the presence of small pox scars and in a total of over one thousand young adults examined, the following data have been obtained:—

Scars of small pox in 10%

Vaccinated and no scars of small pox in 60%

Neither vaccinated nor had small pox in 30%

It has long been evident therefore that the present voluntary system of vaccination is quite inadequate as a protection against epidemics of Small Pox, but before a law for Compulsory Vaccination could be enacted certain necessary preliminary steps had to be taken.

The establishment of a Vaccine Laboratory was the *first step*, and, as we have already seen, this has been an unqualified success. *The next step* was the training of a sufficient number of vaccinators. For several years past suitable young men have undergone a course of instruction with regard to small pox, the effects of vaccination and the methods of vaccination. In this work the medical officers of the Ministry of Interior and of the Local Sanitary Department have not been idle. Praise is specially due to Phya Pitsanoo, who, assisted by a small subsidy from the Local Sanitary Department, has turned out for examination some twenty to thirty young vaccinators every year. These have been examined by myself or my deputy, and certificates have been granted only to those who have shown reasonable proficiency and knowledge. In addition to these all our Sanitary Inspectors are trained in the art of vaccination.

A third step was to accustom the public to regular vaccination every year. In order to carry this out a beginning was made seven

years ago in Bangkok. Temporary vaccination stations were established by the Local Sanitary Department in hospitals, temples and police stations throughout the city. These were kept open during the cooler months of the year, which is the season most preferred by Siamese for vaccination. On the first occasion 3,620 vaccinations were performed. Every year since then free vaccination has been provided not only in Bangkok but also in the outlying suburbs and in the Muangs of the Bangkok Monthon. During the past seven years, a total of 80,934 vaccinations has been performed by officers of the Local Sanitary Department alone.

In the other Monthons of Siam—those under the Ministry of Interior—vaccination has also been carried out on a large scale. During the past twelve months a special vaccination campaign has been carried out in the Interior at the instigation of His Majesty the King, who has most generously defrayed all the expenses out of His Majesty's own purse.

Up to the 13th April of this year this special campaign has resulted in 304,938 vaccinations during the twelve months. So far then as the present generation is concerned it may be said that the population of Siam is fairly well protected against Small Pox. People in the distant parts of the Interior who never heard of vaccination before will now be able to judge of its value when the next case of small pox develops in their midst. They are now accustomed to the operation and to the appearance of vaccinating officers in their district, so that the country may now be considered ready for the final step to which we have looked forward so long—i.e., A Compulsory Vaccination Act.

The Vaccination Law of B. E. 2456.

On the 19th of February of the year B. E. 2456 (1914) His Majesty was graciously pleased to sanction the enactment of a Vaccination Law for Siam. The law was drafted by the Local Sanitary Department for application in the Bangkok Province, and was revised by His Royal Highness Krom Phra Damrong, Minister of Interior, so that it is now applicable to the whole of Siam. At present it will only apply to the Monthon of Bangkok, but at any time it may be proclaimed for other Monthons in the interior.

A few words may now be said with regard to the chief provisions of this Law. The basal idea is the desire to have every person now in the kingdom or who may enter the kingdom rendered immune to small pox. Therefore as soon as this law comes into force every person who has not previously been successfully vaccinated must become vaccinated, unless it can be shown by a certificate from a duly qualified Public Vaccinator that he or she is immune to vaccination. Immunity may mean that he or she has previously suffered from small pox or has been repeatedly vaccinated without a successful result.

Every parent or guardian of a child over one month old must take the earliest opportunity of having such child vaccinated. No definite time limit is laid down in the law—as for example during the first three, six or twelve months after birth—owing to the many difficulties which might be experienced under local conditions. It will be left to the Superintendent of Vaccination to make such arrangements as are necessary from time to time and to notify the time and place for vaccinations in any district. This will enable us to commence work during the cooler months of the year when vaccination is more popular in Siam. The origin of this preference is doubtless due to the fact that it was only in cool weather that vaccine lymph could be transported any appreciable distance when transport was slow and difficult. Nowadays, with railway communication, ice and thermos flasks, efficient vaccine lymph can be transported to almost every corner of the country at any time during the year. Past experience has shown us that if the lymph be active, vaccination takes very well during the hot weather, and gives no worse arms then during the cooler months. In the course of time, I have no doubt that vaccination will go on all the year round, but as I have shown above, the law is so drafted as to enable us to commence our work at the most popular time of the year. So far as the Pasteur Institute is concerned the time of the year would seem to be immaterial. I may say that I personally have used their lymph at all periods of the year with equally good results.

Another point of importance in the law is the provision that the vaccinated child must be brought back to the vaccinator on the 8th day after vaccination so that the result may be verified. This will enable us to repeat the vaccination when necessary and to check

the efficiency of the lymph and the capabilities of the vaccinator. Certificates showing the result of Vaccination will be granted, and it is hoped that in time these certificates will be looked upon as valuable documents to be retained by the parents as carefully as they are retained in many other countries where vaccination is compulsory. We look forward to the day when no child will be admitted as a scholar into any school whatever unless he can show a certificate of vaccination or of immunity from Small Pox.

In the case of adults it is hoped that the same rule will hold good for entrance into any of the public services, be they combatant or civil.

In some countries in Europe the vaccination certificate is one of the important documents which proves an individual's civil status in his own country; in fact I am told that he or she cannot be legally married without its production. Is it too much to expect that some day in Siam the Vaccination Certificate will carry the same importance?

One of the most important clauses in the law is Clause IX. This gives the Minister power to issue a public notice enforcing vaccination or revaccination upon all the inhabitants of a district or locality within a specified time.

Such power would only be taken in the possibility of Small Pox becoming epidemic in such district or locality. Such a clause will on such an occasion prove invaluable as a means of prevention.

The word "revaccination" has just been mentioned for the first time, and no doubt many of you will think that this is a grave omission in any modern Vaccination Law. Let me show you, however, that revaccination has not been forgotten.

In fact we have gone further than the framers of many other vaccination laws. Look at Clause V., which says that "every person "with the exception of children under the age of one month shall "submit to vaccination as often as may be required by the Minister "at such place and time as may be specified by him."

By reason of this clause, I hold that whenever deemed necessary a public notice may be issued by the Minister concerned, calling

upon all persons of a certain age to be revaccinated. It is well known that the immunity conferred by a primary vaccination begins to lose its effect in from 7 to 10 years, although a certain degree of immunity may remain throughout life. It is further well proven that revaccination at the age when the primary immunity is lessening will produce practically absolute immunity for the rest of life.

Therefore in many countries revaccination is enforced by law. No definite age for revaccination is prescribed by this law, but I live in hope that an addition will be made to it, definitely laying down that revaccination during the 9th year will be compulsory.

The usual clauses permitting of postponement of vaccination in case of sickness of the child are included in the law.

Public vaccination will be performed free of charge at such times and places as may be notified by the Superintendent of Vaccination. Any person may however apply to a public Vaccinator to perform vaccination at his residence, and in such case if the public Vaccinator is employed by the Government, a fee will be charged at a rate prescribed by the Minister. No restrictions are placed upon private medical practitioners as to time and place of vaccination and the fees to be charged. They will however require to take out licenses as public Vaccinators if they wish to have their certificates recognised, for in accordance with Clause XI. the certificate of a public Vaccinator shall be the legal proof of being vaccinated in accordance with the provisions of the Law. The reason for this is the necessity of protecting the public. No unqualified person will be recognised as a Public Vaccinator, and the lymph to be used must only be that which has been authorized by the Minister.

The dangerous practice of inoculating with small pox virus is now declared to be a criminal offence, and the offender will be liable to heavy penalties.

In conclusion, it may be stated the "Conscientious Objector" has not been recognised in this law.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1914.

The Siam Society has now completed the first decade of its existence and enters on its eleventh year with excellent prospects.

It is with the deepest feelings of regret that the Society has to mourn the loss of the late Colonel Gerini, one of the founders of the Society. Arrangements are in progress by which the Society hopes to be able to publish some of the late Colonel's hitherto unpublished MSS.

Two other prominent members of the Council have left Siam, namely, Mr. Beckett and Dr. Masao.

Various important contributions to the Journal have been promised for the forthcoming year, among which may be mentioned a paper on the Flora of Siam by Messrs. Kerr and Craib, and a continuation of the papers by Khun Praison on the early relations existing between Siam and Burma.

The Society has been highly honoured with a valuable contribution on the question of transliteration of Siamese from the pen of H. M. the King as Patron of the Society.

Exchange of publications with other learned Societies has been kept up as in the past, and an index to the first ten volumes of the Journal has been compiled and issued with the last part of the tenth volume.

O. FRANKFURTER,
President.

B. O. CARTWRIGHT,
Hon. Secretary.

ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1912.

CREDIT.			DEBIT.		
	Tcs.	Cts.		Tcs.	Cts.
By Balance at Bank			To drawings of The		
31. 12. 11 ...	1,786	42	Buddha ...	30	—
Cash in hand ...	7	50	Art School for ditto	250	50
Subscriptions ...	960	—	Printing, binding &		
Interest ...	15	85	issuing Journal		
			(with plates) ...	1,097	96
			Postages ...	16	80
			Balance at Bank		
			31. 12. 12 ...	1,374	51
Total	2,769	77	Total	2,769	77

20th January, 1913.

O. FRANKFURTER,
President.

W. H. MUNDIE,
Hon. Treasurer.

ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1913.

CREDIT.			DEBIT.		
	Tcs.	Cts.		Tcs.	Cts.
By Balance at Bank			To Survey Dept. ...	30	—
31. 12. 12 ...	1,374	51	Buddha Prints ...	246	—
Subscriptions ...	1,520	—	Printing binding &		
Sale of Journal ...	522	55	issuing Journal		
Interest ...	13	36	(with charts, seven		
			parts) ...	1,543	12
			Stationery ...	9	—
			Postages ...	8	30
			Balance at Bank		
			31. 12. 13 ...	1,594	—
Total	3,430	42	Total	3,430	42

20th January, 1914.

O. FRANKFURTER,
President.

W. H. MUNDIE,
Hon. Treasurer.

Annual Meeting of the Society.

The annual general meeting of the Society was held on the evening of Thursday the 12th March, 1914. Dr. O. Frankfurter, the President, was in the chair.

The Hon. Secretary explained that the Minutes he read were those of two years before as in 1913 no annual general meeting was held. The Minutes were confirmed.

The report for the past year and the statements of accounts for 1912 and 1913 were adopted, on the proposition of Mr. C. A. Seymour Sewell, seconded by Dr. H. Campbell Highet.

The President then mentioned that Mr. Beckett and Dr. Masao, two active members of the Council, had left Siam. Mr. Beckett was their first president, and they were all grateful to him for the way he guided their Society in its early days. The Council had therefore thought it right to propose his appointment as an honorary member, and he proposed this in the name of the Council.

Mr. R. Belhomme seconded, and it was carried.

The President said he had further the honour, in the name of the Council, to propose the appointment of Monseigneur Perros, the Bishop of Zoara, as an honorary member. In doing so the Council was following the precedent created when appointing his revered predecessor to this post on the foundation of the Society, and they trusted that in asking the Right Rev. Bishop to accept this appointment he would see in it the recognition of the services rendered to scholarship by the Mission at whose head he now stood.

Mr. J. Crosby seconded the proposal, and it was carried.

The President remarked that members would see from the report that they might expect from Mr. Craib, of Kew Gardens, to whose scholarship they already owed contributions on the Flora of

Siam, a paper or rather a series of papers on this subject. The importance of this undertaking needed no commentary, and when, through the great courtesy of Dr. Kerr, the Council was approached on this subject it was decided to propose Mr. Craib, in accordance with the statutes of the Society, as a corresponding member.

The proposition was carried after Mr. J. G. Raggi had seconded.

Dr. Frankfurter had further to propose on behalf of the Council the appointment of Professor Cabaton as a corresponding member. At present, he remarked, Professor Cabaton held professorships at the Ecole Coloniale and Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, and his contributions in all fields of Far Eastern scholarship were too well known among members to require any commentary. He was entrusted by the Government of the Republic with researches in the Archives of State with regard to the relations of European Powers with the Far East, and he had, amongst others, found documents which would throw new light on the relations of Portugal and Spain with Siam. The Council trusted that the Journal would likewise benefit by these researches.

The proposition was seconded by Mr. Petithuguenin and carried.

As regards the election of officers, Dr. Frankfurter remarked that after Mr. Beckett and Dr. Masao left, the Council asked Dr. Highet and Mr. Irwin to become vice-presidents and invited Mr. Gairdner and Mr. Raggi to join the Council.

On the proposition of Mr. C. Allegri, seconded by Mr. Roger Garreau, the members of Council were all re-elected, as follows :—

President : Dr. O. FRANKFURTER.

Vice-Presidents : P. PETITHUGUENIN,
Dr. H. CAMPBELL HIGHET,
A. J. IRWIN.

Hon. Secretary : B. O. CARTWRIGHT.

Hon. Treasurer : W. H. MUNDIE.

Members of Council : R. BELHOMME,

J. CROSBY,

F. H. GILES,

K. G. GAIRDNER,

W. A. GRAHAM,

PHYA PRAJAJIB BORIBAL,

KHUN PHRAISON,

J. G. RAGGI,

C. SANDRECZKI,

C. A. SEYMOUR SEWELL,

THE LATE COLONEL G. E. GERINI.

The President said :

" It is my painful duty to record the death of Colonel Gerini. His sudden demise came as a surprise to all of us who knew him in Bangkok in full vigour. Ready as he was to devote his life to a field of knowledge he had made his own and in which he had no rivals, we all hoped when we bade him good-bye at one of our meetings on the point of returning to Italy, that he would enjoy a long *otium cum dignitate* and that he would give to us the fruits of his ripe scholarship untrammelled by the drudgery of routine work. The last great work from his pen was the Catalogue he made of the Turin-Exhibition, the pages of which are teeming with knowledge which could only be acquired by an active, observing life. It would take too long to enumerate the works he published, every one of which may be considered in the study of the Far East as a lasting monument.

" As you know from our report the Society has written to Italy to enquire whether any works are ready for publication, as they would be only too glad to undertake the task of publishing them.

" The name of Colonel Gerini will live as long as studies in the folklore, history, geography, grammar of the East are continued, and we are proud that we could count him as a Vice-President and later as an Honorary Member of our Society.

"The expression of our deep concern in the death of Colonel Gerini, whom irresistible fate has called away so soon, with the expression of our gratitude for his scholarship, in the name of our Society I wish to put on record, and I also propose that the expression of our heartfelt sympathy be conveyed to the family of Colonel Gerini."

Mr. Allegri seconded and it was carried.

THE PRESIDENT'S PAPER.

The President then read his paper on Mr. Morgan's unofficial mission to Siam in 1821.

At the conclusion Dr. Highet said he rose with great pleasure to propose a hearty vote of thanks to their President for his extremely interesting paper. He was not going to say he was the only one unacquainted with Mr. Morgan's adventures in Siam as he thought a good many were in that position, and an extremely interesting side-light had been thrown on the early history of Siam and the relations between Siam and Singapore. Subjects like this made the Siam Society interesting to all of them. He regretted that perhaps on account of the time and possibly on account of the work which had to be done in these days so few residents of Bangkok were present. Once more he proposed a hearty vote of thanks to their President.

This was carried with acclamation, and the meeting concluded.

General Meeting of the Society.

An ordinary General Meeting of members of the Society took place at the Oriental Hotel, Bangkok, on Thursday, the 28th May, 1914, to hear the paper by Dr. H. Campbell Highet on Vaccination in Siam. Mr. A. J. Irwin, Vice-President, was in the chair, and introduced the lecturer.

Before reading his paper Dr. Highet expressed the regret of the Society at the absence through illness of their worthy President, Dr. Frankfurter. They were glad, however, to know he was making satisfactory progress, and they all wished him a speedy recovery.

Dr. Highet's paper was heartily applauded, and the Chairman voiced the feelings of those present in proposing a vote of thanks.

Dr. Highet further exhibited a document lent, through the kindness of H. R. H. Prince Damrong, from the collection in the National Library. It was a treatise on small pox written by the Royal Scribes in 1870, and probably copied from an old manuscript. There were pictures for every month in the year, and it seemed that the virulence of the disease was regarded as varying according to the time of year and the part of the body on which the marks first appeared. The document was beautifully written in gold on black.



THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
SIAM SOCIETY.

VOLUME XI.

(PART 2).

BANGKOK

1914-1915.

Issued to Members of the Society

September, 1915.

LONDON:

LUZAC & Co.

LEIPZIG:

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.

THE SIAM SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED 1904.)

For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science
and Literature in relation to Siam, and neighbouring
countries.

PATRON:

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

VICE-PATRON:

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE DAMRONG RAJANUBHAB,

COUNCIL IN 1914-15

PRESIDENT:

O. FRANKFURTER, PH. D.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

P. PETITHUGUENIN.

H. CAMPBELL HIGHER, M.D., D. P. H.

A. J. IRWIN, B.A., B.A.I., A.M.I.C.E.

HON. SECRETARY:

B. O. CARTWRIGHT, B.A.

HON. TREASURER:

W. H. MUNDIE, M.A.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL:

R. BELHOMME, B.A., B.A.I., A.M.I.C.E.

J. CROSBY.

K. G. GAIRDNER.

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THE STORY OF THE RECORDS OF SIAMESE HISTORY.

[NOTE.—Subjoined is a translation of the first part of the introduction written by H. R. H. Prince Damrong for the History now being edited by him. It is published in the first volume.—O. FRANKFURTER.]

The history of Siam may properly be divided into three periods, namely, (1) the period when Sukhothai was the capital, (2) the period when Ayuddhya was the capital, and (3) the period since Bangkok (Ratanakosindr) has been the capital.

It is rather difficult to obtain definite, accurate knowledge about the Sukhothai period. But stone inscriptions and ancient manuscripts do exist in sufficient number to enable us to institute a comparison that affords us some knowledge. Of such stone inscriptions and ancient manuscripts I have found eleven examples having reference to that period. These are :—

1. The stone inscription of Khun Ram Khamhēng, who was the third King of Sukhothai in the dynasty founded by Phra Ruang. This inscription dates from the year B. E. 1835 (A. D. 1492), and was the first in which Siamese characters were employed. It relates the history of Sukhothai from the time King Khun Sri Indradit occupied the throne up to the reign of King Khun Ram Khamhēng.

2. A stone inscription of Phra Maha Dhammarajalithai, the fifth King of the dynasty of Phra Ruang. This inscription was made at Muang Nakhon Pa (near the present Kamphengphet) and is dated B. E. 1900 (A. D. 1557). It gives the story of certain relics brought from Ceylon.

3. Another stone inscription of Phra Maha Dhammarajalithai, on one side in Siamese characters and on the other in Cambodian. It is dated B. E. 1904 (A. D. 1561), and gives details of the history of Sukhothai in the reign of the royal author.

4. The Book of the Lady Nobhamat. This book was the work of the Lady Nobhamat, a daughter of Phra Sri Mahosot, who was of the Brahmin caste in Sukhothai. It relates how her father presented her to be a wife of King Phra Ruang, and how she became first wife with the title of Thao Sri Chulalaks. She lived in the royal palace, and became familiar with the royal customs and observances. These she noted down in her book, together with geographical details with regard to places, villages and towns and the surroundings of the palace. The whole is contained in three Siamese volumes, called variously the Book of the Lady Nobhamat, or the Tables of Thao Sri Chulalaks.

In reading this book I came to the conclusion that as regards language it is a modern work of the Bangkok period, the idiom being different from that used in the time when Sukhothai was the capital. Moreover there are certain things in it that cannot possibly be true, such as the statement to the effect that there were foreigners, English, French, Dutch, Spaniards, and even Americans, there. The truth is, as we now know, that no such foreigners, or indeed any *farangs* at all, had come to Siam at the time of the Lady Nobhamat. Furthermore in the time of Sukhothai there could not have been big guns weighing a hundred or a thousand piculs, as such guns had not then been made anywhere. For these reasons I came to suspect that it was a modern work, which some one else had written, using the name of the Lady Nobhamat. I once had an opportunity of putting the case before His late Majesty, who said that as far as language goes the book was certainly modern, and that there were certain things in it which could not be true. On the other hand scholars formerly—King Mongkut and Prince Wongsadirat-sanid in particular—admired the book very much. Now they must have observed the element of the marvellous in the book, the same as we do, and what other grounds they had for putting faith in it we do not know. But His Majesty King Chulalongkorn, as the result of the examination he made, was of opinion that an original version of the book once existed, that this original version became impaired, and that it had been restored during the Bangkok period, but that the person compiling the new version did not have sufficient intelligence or knowledge for the purpose, as can easily be seen.

5. The History of the Statue of the Buddha named "Phra Sihing." This work was written, in Pali, by a priest named Bodhi-

rangsi, between the years B. E. 2000 and 2070. It relates the history of this statue which was originally constructed in Ceylon. Then King Phra Ruang sent the Prince of Nakhon Sri Dhammaraj to beg permission to bring it to Sukhothai. The book, which has been translated into Siamese several times, further relates the wanderings of the image to different cities.

6. The History of Jinakalamalini. This manuscript was the work of a priest named Ratana Paññāñāṇa. It was composed in Pali, at Chiang Mai, in the year B. E. 2059, and gives the history of the spread of Buddhism in Siam. A translation into Siamese was made in the reign of King Phra Buddha Yotfa Chulalok.

7. The Chinese history known as Kimtia Soktongchi. This work the Chinese Emperor Kian Long of the Ching dynasty ordered his officials to publish in the year B. E. 2310. It deals with the treaty relations between China and Siam, and was translated into Siamese by Khun Chen Chin Aksorn (Sutchai).

8. The Northern Annals, as appearing in the manuscript kept in the Vajirañāna National Library. King Phra Buddha Yotfa Chulalok directed his younger brother Prince Surasinghanada to collect all the documents. That was in B. E. 2350, and the Prince in turn ordered Phra Vichien Pricha, the chief of the royal pandits of the right side, to collate them. It appears that the method adopted by Phra Vichien Pricha was to collect all the old manuscripts he could find which he believed to relate events that happened before the building of Ayuddhya. And sometimes he simply noted down what he heard from old people in the North who remembered the old traditions. All this material he arranged in order just as he thought it would fit in, his purpose being to make it a consecutive whole like the history of Ayuddhya. The result is that in the Northern Annals we have a combination of many narrations, and sometimes one story is repeated twice. The chronology is thus entirely unreliable, and breaks down if any attempt is made to compare one date with another. None the less there is a solid substratum of fact to be obtained in the incidents narrated in this history; only one must not put credence in their sequence as set down by Phra Vichien Pricha.

9. The History of Yonaka. This is a history of the various principalities now included in Bayap Circle, and was written by Phya

Prajakich Korachakr (Jēm Bunnak). The author was at pains to collect and collate all the material available, and as he did so with perspicacity and a profound knowledge of antiquity, his book is a very good one. It is in fact one of the best works in the field of Siamese history, and it is much to be regretted that Phya Prajakich Korachakr died so young, as he gave promise of great things as a historian.

10. The Rajadhiraj. This is the history of Pegu, which His Majesty Phra Buddha Yotfa Chulalok ordered to be translated into Siamese in B. E. 2328. The first part has much to do with our history at the time when Sukhothai was the capital.

11. Chamadevivongs. This work was written in Pali by Phra Bodhirangsi, of Chieng Mai, and was translated as the History of Muang Haribhunjai. It also has to do with the Sukhothai period.

The history of the Ayuddhya period can be more easily examined than that of Sukhothai as we have documents to form a groundwork.

The most familiar version of this history is that printed by Dr. Bradley, in two volumes, in B. E. 2406, and by other printing offices on several occasions since. It is generally held that this History was the work of Krom Somdet Phra Paramanujit, and that in composing it he made use of the history of Somdet Phra Wanratna in Pali, one part of which was called Mahayuddhakar and the other Ohlayuddhakar. The two volumes were thus ascribed to Krom Somdet Phra Paramanujit, and were generally considered the only books in existence relating to the history of the Ayuddhya period.

When, however, His Majesty King Chulalongkorn ordered the establishment of the National Library in B.E. 2448 and appointed His Majesty the present King President of the Council, and when afterwards the Royal Research Society was formed, of which His Majesty constituted himself President, in B. E. 2450, all the members endeavoured to collect historical documents. Many of them also helped in examining and comparing the many documents that were gradually placed in the Library. When any doubt arose the late King was approached, and His Majesty often gave his opinion on questions brought before him. Only two months before his lamented death the following letter was received from His Majesty:—

SUEN DUSIT,
The 8th August, R.S. 129.

TO PRINCE DAMRONG,

I have received your letter of the 5th inst. informing me that the National Library has obtained two other copies of the History, the one written in C. E. 1145 and other judged to date from C. E. 1157. The matter agrees with that given in the printed copy. But in the manuscript written in 1145, some words are missing and some are added, and in this respect it shows differences from the printed copy. I have examined one part and return herewith the two copies with the comparisons I have made. You do not express any opinion as to whether the manuscript dated 1145 comes from Ayuddhya or from Dhanaburi. I have made an examination, but am unable to establish the point definitely.

It appears to me that, in the composition of all these versions of our history, we have five different sources. The first is the yearly calendar (*Pum*). The second is the account dealing with the period from the reign of Somdet Phra Maha Chakrabarti to that of Prāsāt Thong, and these documents are understood to have been written in the reign of Somdet Phra Narayana Maharaj. This part of the history is based on the war reports, just as was done afterwards in regard to the reign of Phra Chao Krung Dhanaburi, as I have shown in the *Phra Rajavichan*.

The third source is the story that takes our history from the reign of Phra Narayana to that of Boromakot. It is understood that this was composed in the reign of King Boromakot by his orders. For that period there were no war reports, so events were simply noted down, and may be fittingly compared with the way in which evidence was formerly taken in law cases. The evidence without any attempt at style or order was noted down as given, and the book in which it was noted down was bound up and provided with a seal of wet clay to which the person giving evidence had to affix his thumb mark.

Fourthly, from the time of Phra Boromakot up to the destruction of Ayuddhya the history may be said to have been written by order of Phra Chao Krung Dhanaburi. There are two versions,

The fifth source is the part which Krom Somdet Phra Paramanujit extracted from the war reports such as are still preserved to the present day, and a comparison between these and the actual History will serve to show how the compilation was made.

With regard to the two manuscripts believed to date from C.E. 1145 and 1157 I am of opinion that only words were corrected, and perhaps sentences, but no new matter was added.

(Signed) SAYAMINDR.

In order that the King's explanation may be understood, it will be necessary to give details of the different versions of the History preserved in the National Library.

The Council was able to collect five versions of the History during the fifth reign.

I:—The version of Luang Prasöt. It was found by Phra Bariyat Dhammatada when he still held the title of Luang, and it was decided by the Council to honour him by calling it after him.

The manuscript commences with the words: "May it be of good omen. In the year of the monkey, 1042, on Wednesday the 12th day of the waxing moon, 5th month, His Majesty was pleased to order to bring together the account of the events noted down by Phra Hora, and the account of the events which could be found in the Library and the events which were noted down in the Royal History, and to arrange all these according to date."

This history was ordered to be written by Somdet Phra Narayana Maharaj. It appears that the copy in the Library was written in Ayuddhya, but there is only one volume of it. The events are recorded, from the time the Statue of the Buddha known as Phra Chao Baneng Chón was erected in B. E. 1837 (C. E. 686). Ayuddhya was founded in the year of the Tiger, Chula Era 712, and the account given in this volume reaches up to C. E. 966, when Somdet Phra Naresuan raised an army to proceed to Muang Hang Luang. This history gives the events in very short form, but for the most part it agrees with the historical dates given elsewhere, and in looking over the years recorded in it, one finds that they are to a great extent correct. It is very probable this work formerly contained another volume,

II:—The copy of the History written in the year of the Chula Era 1145. The original was written at the time of the foundation of Bangkok. The contents are the same as in the printed copy in two volumes; but it cannot be definitely stated when this History commenced, where it ended, or how many volumes it contained, because only two volumes can be found. Certainly the diction is different from that of the other versions.

III:—The copy of the History written in the year of the Chula Era 1157. In the commencement of this History it is stated: "May it be of good men. In the Chula era 1157, year of the Rabbit, the 7th of the decade, when His Majesty Somdet Phra Boromadharmarak Maharaajadhirajascended the throne of Thep Thavaravadi Sri Ayuddhya, occupying the throne Dusit Maha Prasat, he ordered the Royal History to be collated." This must be understood to mean that His Majesty Phra Buddha Yotfa Chulalok had collated the history in that year, and in the original copy it is stated that in some instances he has made some additions. Of this history, we have three books written in the first reign, and there are further four other volumes. The History commences with the foundation of Ayuddhya, but how far it went and how many more volumes it contained cannot as yet be ascertained.

IV:—The Petchaburi copy of the history (so called because the original was obtained from Petchaburi), and the copy of Phra Chakrabattibong (Chat) which is written on palm leaves. In comparing these two copies it appears that they agree with the version of Krom Somdet Phra Paramanujit, but they do not contain at the beginning the short version referring to Nai Sen Pom, or the abbreviated version. The short version appearing at the beginning of the two printed volumes contains in the copy kept at the Library the following: "May it be of good omen. In the year 1202, year of the dog, on Saturday the 7th day of the 7th waxing moon, His Majesty the King entered the audience hall Amarindr Vinichai, and was graciously pleased to command His son Prince Annob to visit Prince Nujit Jinorot in Wat Phra Jetubon, requesting him to put in order in a short form the History of the things of Ayuddhya."

This must be understood to refer to a separate version which the King Phra Nang Klao requested Somdet Phra Paramanujit

to arrange at a later date. Dr. Bradley received this version together with the extended version of the history, and he then printed the former at the commencement. As regards the abbreviated version, this was arranged by Krom Somdet Phra Paramanujit at the same time as the short version just mentioned.

I have compared the History of Luang Prasüt with the two printed volumes. In the beginning both are identical. It appears that the person who wrote the version in two volumes has copied the version published in the time of Phra Narayana, and has extended it up to the time of Somdet Phra Jairaja. It is curious that the dates agree in the two versions only up to the time of Phra Chao Udong; from that reign there is a difference between the two versions of between 4 and 20 years.

V:—The version of King Mongkut here printed and the version of Prince Mahisra, both of which agree. We know in regard to these versions that His Majesty King Mongkut ordered Prince Krom Luang Wongsadirat-Sanit to collate the old version, to correct it in many places and to give fuller details. I gather that when Krom Luang Wongsadirat had finished his work of collation, he presented his manuscript to His Majesty King Mongkut, and the King made further corrections. His Majesty's corrections made in his own handwriting are found in the copy kept in the Vajirañāna National Library; of which, however, only 22 books exist; but by a happy accident, the version of Prince Mahisra was also preserved. This is in 42 volumes and these give the history from the foundation of Ayudhya up to the First Reign in Bangkok, concluding with the year 1142 of the Chula era. From the various versions preserved in the Library, it is thus clear that there was a history of Siam before the time of Krom Somdet Phra Paramanujit, and that he did not compose the history. I approached His late Majesty on that question and his answer is shown in his royal autograph letter already given.

In the Reign of his present Majesty in B. E. 2454, Nai Sathien Raksa (Kong Kéo) presented another copy to the Library which was written in Bangkok in C. E. 1136. The diction is older than the version of 1145, but the Library only possesses one book, and it cannot be ascertained when this History commenced, where it ended or how many volumes it contained.

Its existence nevertheless affords additional proof of the fact that the detailed version assuredly dates from Ayuddhya, and that the copy of the year C. E. 1145 was drawn up or edited at Dhanaburi; hence the differences in diction.

Moreover, the dates given in the copy of C. E. 1136 agree with those in the version of Luang Prasöt, and thus it appears that chronological errors only crept in at the time when new editions of the history were drawn up in Dhanaburi or in Bangkok.

It is greatly to be regretted that the copy of C. E. 1136 was not found during the life time of His late Majesty, for I am sure he would have been very pleased to state his opinion. It is very lucky, however, that in all the versions of the history now preserved in the Library, the story of how the King of Sri Sattana Kanahut returned Princess Phra Kōo Fa to Somdet Phra Maha Chakrabat is contained. From the different versions of this history, it can easily be seen how they were arranged and how the versions were altered.

VERSION OF LUANG PRASÖT.

"In the year of the Rat, 926 C. E., Phra Chao Lan Chang invited the Princess Somdet Phra Keo Fa to return to Ayuddhya, stating that he desired the Princess Phra Thep Krasatr, and the latter was then bestowed on the King of Lan Chang."

This is the oldest version which has been discovered.

THE HISTORY OF 1136, C. E.

"At that time Phra Keo Fa, the daughter of the King of the White Elephant Prasad Thong, was sent to Phya Lan Chang. When she arrived there, Phya Lan Chang said, 'We have asked for Phra Thep Krasatr and we did not ask for Princess Keo Fa, and we shall therefore return Phra Keo Fa to Ayuddhya, and we ask for Phra Thep Krasatr as before.' After the war regarding the White Elephant was finished, Phya Lan Chang commissioned Phya Sen, Phya Nakhorn, and Phya Thep Montri to accompany Phra Keo Fa, and he composed a royal letter saying, 'We have asked for Phra Thep Krasatr.' Then the King of the White Elephant acted according to this behest, and he arranged that Phra Thep Krasatr should be sent to Phya Lan Chang, in the

year of the Rat, 926. The King of the White Elephant ordered Phya Men to accompany his daughter to Phya Lan Chang by way of Samoh So."

This is a later version and only agrees as regards the date with that in the edition of Luang Prasöt.

VERSION OF 1145, C. E.

"When the Prince of Sri Sattana Kanahut found that it was not Phra Thep Krasatr (who had come) he was sorry and said, 'We asked for Phra Thep Krasatr, who is the daughter of Phra Suriyothai who died for her husband fighting on the elephant, and who is of excellent royal family,' and then he directed Phya Sen, Phya Nakhorn and Phya Thep Montri as ambassadors to return Phra Keo Fa to Ayuddhya and he sent royal presents to Somdet Phra Maha Chakrabat, Lord of the White Elephant. In the letter it is stated :

" 'Formerly you gave me Phra Thep Krasatr and her fame has spread everywhere throughout the Empire up to Sri Sattana Kanahut. Now you have sent me in exchange your daughter Phra Keo Fa ; and even if she were a hundred or a thousand times more beautiful than Phra Thep Krasatr, still if this fact were allowed to extinguish the glory of Phra Thep Krasatr it would be a dishonour for all time. I therefore return Phra Keo Fa and ask as a royal favour that Phra Thep Krasatr may be sent to me as was formerly agreed.'

"His Majesty Phra Maha Chakrabat after having read the letter was very grieved, and after Phra Thep Krasatr had recovered from her illness, he made arrangements for sending his Royal Daughter. She had a retinue of 500 male and female slaves, and in the 5th month, C. E. 913, in the year of the pig, he ordered Phya Men with a thousand men to escort her. Phya Men and his followers then invited Phra Thep Krasatr to ascend the Royal Palanquin and to proceed by way of Samoh So."

It appears that this version is based, with embellishments, on that of 1136. The date given should, however, be advanced by 13 years.

THE VERSION OF 1157.

This version agrees with the version of 1145, and there are only small differences in the diction.

THE PRINTED VERSION.

It is quite clear that Somdet Phra Paramanujit did not alter anything and that the few minor differences are due to printing.

THE VERSION OF KING MONGKUT.

This version has not been altered and agrees with that of 1157.

Any scholar who has read the versions placed in juxtaposition above will come to the conclusion that the original history was written in the Reign of Somdet Phra Narayana in the year C. E. 1042. After that this history was finally extended into the version of 1136, and from this all the other versions were made, up to the version of King Mongkut.

Two methods have been adopted in composing the various versions of the History, namely making a new version from the material already existing and making additions, and secondly by correcting and amending the existing history. With regard to the corrections and emendations of the history, we have, during the Bangkok period, one made in the first Reign and again one in the 4th reign, and perhaps there might have been one made in the 3rd Reign. There are no proofs that amendments were made in the time of Ayuddhya, before Bangkok was established as the capital.

The History was written, it appears, in Ayuddhya on two occasions, the first being in the Reign of Phra Narayana Maharaj, when the version of Luang Prasöt was composed.

This version extends from the casting of the statue of the Buddha named Baneng Chön, up to at the latest the end of the reign of Prasad Thong.

In the reign of Phra Chao Boromakot, another version was composed, because in that reign many books were written. The King just mentioned followed the example of King Phra

Narayana Maharaj and ordered a new and detailed history to be composed from the time of the foundation of Ayuddhya up to the reign of Phra Narayana at the most. This is clearly shown in the explanations given by His late Majesty. I may further add that I do not think that King Phra Boromakot brought the history down to any later period, because it must be understood that the reign of Phra Thep Raja and of Phra Chao Sīa, were not such that they can be considered glorious ancestors of King Phra Boromakot. Why then should he have included the history of their reigns? Had he done so, the narrative would assuredly have been different. There is an additional circumstance which lends colour to the view that the extended version composed in the reign of King Phra Boromakot did not even reach as far as the death of King Narayana Maharaj. In the history of that King's reign there are two mistakes.

1st. It is stated that Chao Fa Abhayathot is the son of Phra Narayana, whilst he really was his younger brother. Phra Narayana had no sons, as is proved by the books written by the French Amassadors, who came to Siam twice in the reign of Phra Narayana and gave many details about Siam. This is confirmed by the evidence of Khun Luang Ha Vat, who stated that Phra Narayana had no sons but only a daughter, and that that was the reason why Luang Sorasak was considered an illegitimate son.

2nd. In the history it is stated that Phra Narayana died in the year 1044 C. E., whilst all other books including the yearly calendar give the date as C. E. 1050, a difference of 6 years. This is a significant error since in the reign of King Phra Boromakot there were many persons alive from the time of Phra Narayana, and King Phra Boromakot himself was born in that reign. If that portion of the history was written in the time of Phra Boromakot, how could such mistakes have occurred?

I have carefully looked over the printed history in two volumes and the history corrected by the King Mongkat, and have come to the conclusion that the history written in the reign of King Phra Boromakot only went as far as the war in which Phya Kosa (Khun Lek) defeated the Burmese in Saiyok and then returned to the capital.

The succeeding sections which refer to Vichayen seem to have been added by another hand; the portions of the history dealing with the reign of King Narayana from that point onwards are disjointed, and dates are not given. It would appear as though the compiler had written down from hearsay incidents such as the story of Chao Phya Vichayen and that of Luang Sorasak up to the story of Chao Phya Kosa (Pan) going to France. Even our own knowledge of the facts to-day is more accurate than that displayed in the history. I am therefore of the opinion that the portions of the history above mentioned were written by someone who was born after the events narrated had occurred, and the error of six years in the date of Phra Narayana's death may thus be explained.

Now, if the portions of the history from the end of the reign of King Phra Narayana Maharaj onwards were not written in the time of King Phra Boromakot and if they were written in Ayuddhya at all, they must have been written in the reign of Phra Chao Suriyat Amarindr. But Phya Boran is of opinion that, since in that reign the Government was in a state of disturbance, there was no opportunity of writing history. In such a case, then, the portions in question could only have been written in the time of Dhanaburi, for even if there were many wars in that period, they were attended by victory. It has been further proved that Chao Krung Dhanaburi composed a version of the Ramayana, and if he had time for that, he could also have compiled a history.

If we examine the two printed volumes and see how Somdet Phra Chao Thai Sara is blamed, and Phra Boromakot exalted, we must agree with that opinion because the King of Dhanaburi and his followers were servants of Phra Boromakot.

Therefore we may state that the King of Krung Dhanaburi brought the history (the version of C. E. 1145) left uncompleted since the time of King Phra Boromakot, up to the latter's death and from then to the destruction of Ayuddhya by the Burmese.

This later compilation was probably made in the first Reign, in C. E. 1157, at the time when the history of the country was being revised. We know further that the history of Dhanaburi was written, by request of H. M. Phra Nang Klao, by Somdet Phra Paramanujit, and the style of the continuation is different.

In the 4th Reign the history was again corrected, and this version is the Royal autograph copy, which was only corrected up to C. E. 1152 (and there are 6 pages missing as compared with the printed volumes).

Now the question arises as to what can be ascertained about the version said to have been written by Somdet Phra Wanratna in Pali. I can only answer that Prince Sommot was told by the Phra Sangharaj of Wat Rajapradit that he had seen that version, and that he remembered how he altered Siamese names into Pali names, for example Chamūn Dibsenā into Chamino Dibbasenā.

I myself asked Choa Fa Krom Phya Bamrab Parapaks whether the book existed, and he stated that he had seen it himself in the hands of Somdet Phra Paramanujit, and he believed that the book was still in Wat Jetubon. He then gave orders to enquire of Phra Mongkol Thep (Thieng), who was the personal servant of Phra Paramanujit, and who stated in my presence that, after the demise of Krom Somdet Phra Paramanujit, His Majesty King Mongkut gave orders to take all books kept by him to the Grand Palace, and none were left in the Temple.

When the books kept in the Mandira Dhamma were brought to the National Library, the Council looked for the Mahayuddhakar and the Chulayuddhakar, but neither of these books nor other histories could be traced. However, the Mahayuddhakar and the Chulayuddhakar once existed, and if we enquire what their contents were we may even give the answer from the titles of the books.

The two Books relate the wars fought to the glory of the Kings. If such wars were not victorious they were not mentioned. The Mahayuddhakar speaks about a great war, the Chulayuddhakar about a smaller war. Such a great war was the war with Pegu from the time of Somdet Phra Maha Chakrabat up to the time when Somdet Phra Naresuan defeated the Peguans, and Pegu came under the jurisdiction of Siam.

The person who composed the former work composed it to the glory of Somdet Phra Naresuan, and for that there are proofs, namely, that the three versions of the history of E. C. 1136, 1145 and 1157 all deal with the events of the period of the Mahayuddhakar.

If we examine the printed copy and the royal autograph copy, we shall come to the same conclusion as His late Majesty, namely, that the History before Somdet Phra Maha Chakrabat is written in a short form, as if taken from the yearly Calendar. From the time of Somdet Phra Maha Chakrabat up to the time of King Phra Boromakot, the person composing it relied on the Mahayuddhakar.

With regard to the Chulayuddhakar, we have to consider what campaigns after the campaigns against Pegu are worthy of record. In the reign of Phra Narai, there were wars against Burma and Chiengmai, but these cannot be considered comparable to the great struggle in the course of which the King of Dhanaburi fought the Burmese and quelled disturbances, so that Dhanaburi rose to the same pinnacle of eminence which Ayuddhya had reached formerly. The resemblance between this war and that fought by King Naresuan was such as to invite the composition of a work in honour of the King of Dhanaburi which should liken him to the first-named monarch. The writing of such a work would cause no little satisfaction to the King of Dhanaburi. For this reason, the Chulayuddhakar may perhaps have been composed in Dhanaburi. And if that is so, I believe I am able to fix the author, namely Phra Dhammadhiraj Mahamuni of Wat Hong, or as he is also called Somdet Chao Chün. This person was known as a great scholar, who was esteemed by the King of Dhanaburi and finally was raised to the dignity of Phra Sangharaj. In the first reign of the present dynasty he was reduced in rank to that of Wanratna. It has already been stated that Phra Paramanujit, when compiling his version of the history, had recourse to the composition in Pali of Somdet Phra Wanratna. Perhaps it was the Chulayuddhakar itself, written by Somdet Chao Chün, to which he thus referred.

Now, I beg you to consider the style of Somdet Phra Paramanujit when he speaks about the reign of Chao Tak. He says : " When Ayuddhya had not yet been destroyed, the King had a proof that he could be considered as one destined to become a Buddha, and he knew that Ayuddhya was to be destroyed because the Chiefs and the people were unjust. Therefore he assisted, with all his power the Samanas, Brahmanas and the teachers, and as the

teaching of the Buddha was deteriorating, he assembled the people and soldiers in Wat Pichai, and thus it came about that the religion of the Buddha was preserved, and that was a good omen."

It is very likely, therefore, that Somdet Phra Paramanujit copied this from the Chulayuddhakar, but did not compose it. There was no reason why Somdet Phra Paramanujit should have exalted the King of Dhanaburi, as one "to become a Buddha;" but there is good reason why Somdet Chao Chitu should have used that language. Compare the above passage with the following account (compiled in the first reign of the present dynasty) of the events which preceded the fall of Ayuddhya:—

"In the 12th month a naval force was prepared under Phya Tak (King of Dhanaburi), Phya Petchaburi and Luang Suraseni to wait at Wat Yai, for the coming of the Burmese war boats. Phya Petchaburi fought the Burmese at Wat Sangkawat and died fighting. Phya Tak and Luang Suraseni looked on, but did not assist, and established themselves at Wat Pichai."

I am assuredly only guessing, and I have no other evidence; but I have not yet given up the hope that we may find the Mahayuddhakar and Chulayuddhakar. In any event, however, these books are of value only as having been aids to the compilation of history, as can be seen from the version of Luang Prasöt.

We may divide the works which were used as aids to the compilation of history into four classes, namely, books written by priests, books written by Astrologers, official publications, and books written by private individuals.

BOOKS WRITTEN BY PRIESTS.

The first example we have is that by Maha Nama, who wrote the history of Buddhism in Ceylon in Pali. When our priests went for the purposes of study to Ceylon, and when priests from Ceylon came to this country, the latter were considered teachers as from the time of Sukhothai, and from the time when Chiengmai was still a sovereign State. The priests of Ceylon showed the way of writing history after the manner of the Mahawongse;

they composed religious histories and histories of religious monuments. This was done in Pali, and so Phra Bodhirangsi composed the Chama-devivongs, the history of Haribhunjai; Phra Ratana Paññañña wrote the history of Jinakalamlini; and Phra Brahma Rajpañña wrote the Ratana Bimbawongs, the history of the Emerald Buddha.

Some of these histories were written in Siamese, like the history of the Mahadhat of Nakon Sri Dharmaraj.

These histories, although having to do in part with foreign countries, are also the foundation of Siamese history.

BOOKS WRITTEN BY THE ASTROLOGERS.

If anything of importance happened, the astrologers noted down such events in the Calendar just as in a diary, and afterwards they combined these in the yearly Calendars, or sometimes they issued separate reports. Works of this nature are another good source of history; they usually furnish dates with precision.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

The daily war reports are the principal of these. His Majesty the late King pointed out clearly how, in the printed version of the history, whenever there is a question of war, the dates are given very closely; when there is no war the dates are given but rarely. This is noticeable from the time of Somdet Phra Naresuan's campaigns against the Peguans up to that of the King of Dhanaburi's campaigns against the Burmese. The reason for this circumstance is to be sought in the fact that the daily war reports were employed by the historian as a source of material.

In addition to the war reports, we also have the laws, which contained dates and other material both in the preamble and also in the body of the laws themselves. This greatly assists the historian, as also do the histories of neighbouring countries. I may enumerate the following six such histories:—

I:—The history of Burmah call the Maha Rajawongs; formerly the book consisted of four "bundles" of palm leaves. Afterwards the

King of Ava Siri Bavora Maha-Dhamaraja, called by the Burmese "Bagjido" (Royal Uncle), summoned on the first day of the 7th month C. E. 1197, the learned and the pandits to examine and extend the old history, and a new version was compiled called the Hamanan Maharajawongs, namely, the Maharajawongs of the Crystal Hall. It was called so, because the Assembly took place in the Crystal Hall of the Royal Palace at Ava.

Sir Arthur Phayre has used this for his history of Burmah in one volume. Khun Phraison Sararaks (Thien) has translated the portion commencing from the wars between the Peguans and Siamese into English, and I have instructed Maung Toh to translate those parts which have references to Siam.

II:—The history of Cambodia, which His Majesty King Mongkut ordered to be translated into Siamese in the year of the Rabbit in C. E. 1217.

III:—The history of the Peguans, which His Majesty King Mongkut ordered to be translated into Siamese in the year of the small dragon, C. E. 1219.

IV:—The history of Lan Chang, which was written in that city, and which was printed in the Vajirañāna Magazine.

V:—The history called "Yonok" written by Phya Prachakitch Korachakr (Jēm Bunnak), to which reference has already been made.

VI:—The history of the relations between Siam and China, translated by Khun Chen Chin Aksorn (Sutchai).

Besides the above books there are the records of judicial proceedings, and the reports of Siamese and foreigners employed on official business. According to an ancient custom with us, it is a duty of the Ho Satragom, under Nai Saneh and Nai Sutchinda Humpræh, to note down "events of state interest" as they may occur. The reports thus compiled are known under the title of "Events in the national history."

It would appear that the history of Luang Prasöt is such a record of events compiled in the Ho Satragom.

BOOKS WRITTEN BY PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS.

These consist of works composed by various persons in the light of what they knew or saw or on the strength of evidence supplied to them, at a time when they were compiling a history or were investigating the past. In this way a record is sometimes made of the answers furnished to questions by old people who are familiar with any given subject.

Such a record was drawn up in the first reign when enquiries were made as to the customs in Ayuddhya regarding many royal festivals, including the Hair Cutting Ceremony. Chao Fa Bindavadi, the daughter of Somdet Phra Boromakot, who lived in Bangkok during the first reign, was consulted on these points.

The Recollections of Princess Narindr Devi, which His Majesty the late King has edited under the title of Royal Disquisitions, also belongs to the class of works here under discussion. I understand that the Princess submitted the material for this work to His Majesty, who wrote it down.

In the 3rd reign when the history of Siam was being compiled again, there were also works of this same class in poetical form, such as the "Defeat of the Annamites."

There are, moreover, books in European languages containing references to Siamese history. But most accounts furnished by Europeans commence only with the reign of Phra Chao Song Dharma. Few of them deal with an earlier period.

For the history of Siam, since Bangkok became the capital, we have the History of Somdet Phra Paramanujit for part of the first reign. H. M. King Chulalongkorn commanded Chao Phya Dibakarawongs (Kham Bunnak) to continue this account up to the end of the fourth reign. Further, there are the Royal Disquisitions which H. M. King Chulalongkorn composed. All these works offer us a ground-work.

In addition, we have also many other works which are of use for purposes of examination and comparison in compiling the history of Bangkok. The Council of the Royal Library is making a collection of them.

If we had many industrious helpers in our work of historical research, I believe we could produce a history which would compare not unfavourably with those of other countries.

[Note.—In the Evidences on Ayuddhya, lately published (p. 69) we find the following explanation given with regard to the history of Siam:—"After Khun Jinaraj (about C. E. 891) had ascended the throne, he ordered all the old histories and records to be thrown into the water or to be burned, and that is the reason why the history is in many parts defective"—O. F.]



AN EARLY BRITISH MERCHANT IN BANGKOK.

It is generally known to present day residents of Bangkok that the headquarters of the new Irrigation Department, on the west bank of the river, was originally built for the first British merchant who settled in the present capital of Siam. The history of this merchant furnishes an interesting chapter in the history of Bangkok of ninety years ago, and does not seem to have been given in any detail before. It is perhaps hardly necessary to recall that the hardy pioneer who came to trade with the Third Monarch of the Reigning Dynasty was a Scotsman. Robert Hunter, for such was his name, hailed from Greenock, and came to Bangkok in August 1824, a little over a year after Stamford Raffles had taken his farewell of Singapore, broken in health if not in spirit. Hunter first lived in India, then came on to Singapore, and the Crawford Mission towards the end of the 2nd Reign turned his attention towards Siam. Hunter reached this country at a time when the capital was in the state of uncertainty which accompanied the Accession to the Throne of the Supreme Monarch of the Kingdom. The Second King of the present Dynasty died in July 1824, and Phra Nang Klao had been on the throne but a few weeks when the first British-born merchant to reside in Bangkok arrived.

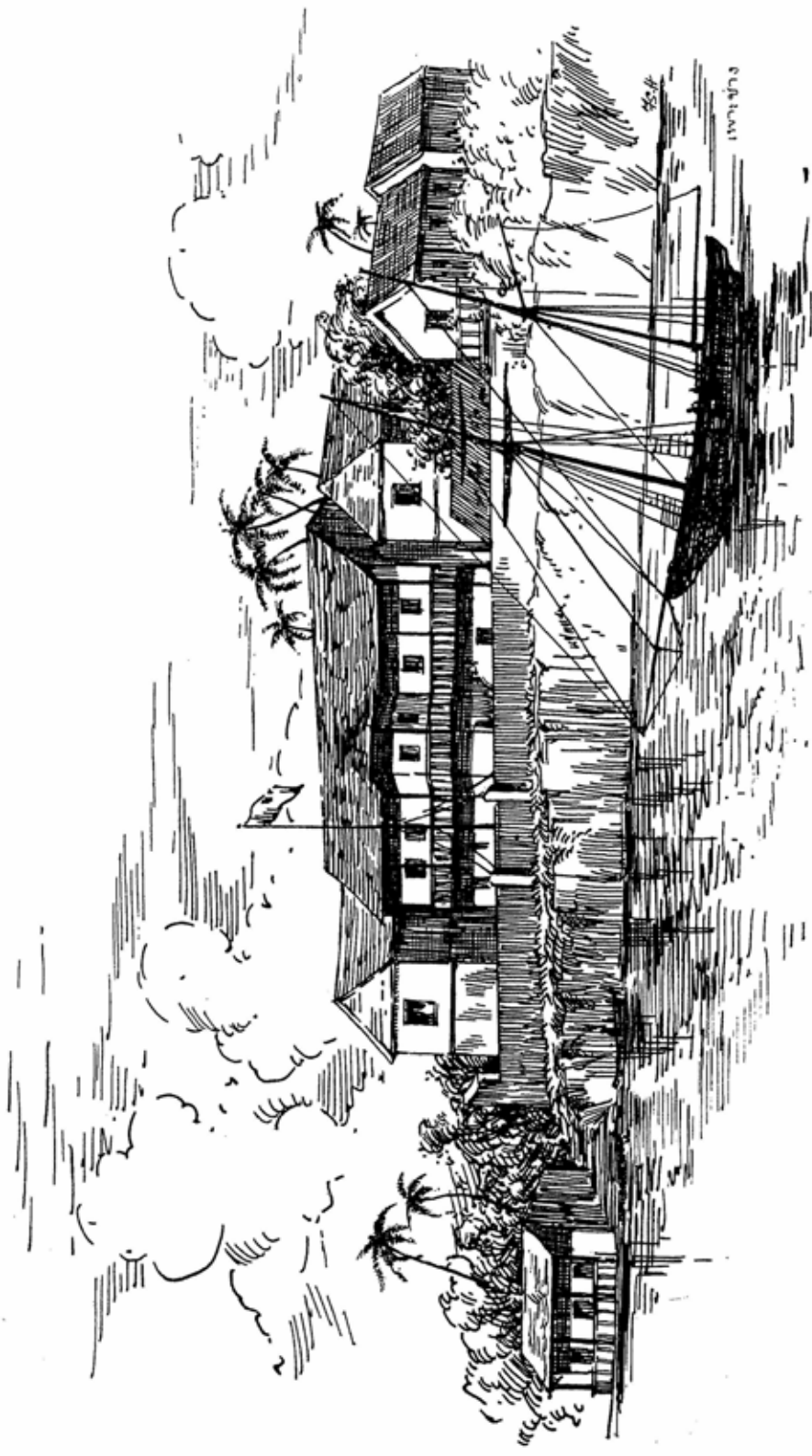
He did not settle in Bangkok at once, but made journeys to and from Singapore and traded with the Rajahs of Pattani, Trengganu and Kelantan on these journeys. He also apparently retained business interests in Singapore. Buckley, in his *Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore*, republishes Braddel's list of European Inhabitants of Singapore in March 1827. There Robert Hunter is given as of the firm of Morgans, Hunter & Co. There is a record of another trading venture in 1833. George Windsor Earl, who wrote *Voyages and Adventures in the Indian Archipelago* 1832, 1833 and 1834, describes a journey to Bangkok with Robert Hunter. He says he had on board several seamen belonging to a vessel of Mr. Hunter which had lately been sold in Singapore, and Hattee, a fat good humoured little Siam-Chinese, the personal attendant of Mr. Hunter. Hunter proved a most

agreeable companion. He had spent many years in the different parts of the Archipelago and therefore possessed valuable information concerning it.

No one desiring to do business came to Bangkok without bringing gifts, and Hunter arrived at an opportune moment. King Phra Nang Klao was experiencing trouble at Viengchan, and among the gifts which Hunter brought were a thousand muskets from India, which no doubt proved very acceptable at this juncture. The King had the wood on which the the barrels were placed painted red, and these muskets are known in the country to-day as *pim rang dng*. But despite careful search in likely places I have not been able to find one of these muskets. The Museum has been examined without success, nor does the collection of arms at the Ministry of War contain one.

It is not known whether Hunter had definitely decided to settle in Siam when he came up to Bangkok, but we find that, shortly after his arrival, he consulted with the Phra Klang, stating that he wished to trade and made application for land on which to build a place of business. The Phra Klang reported to the King, who ordered him to arrange a place for Hunter. In the previous Reign when the Portuguese Consul, Carlos da Silva, with Joachim Xavier as Secretary, came from Macao to Bangkok, a place was provided for him to reside in, and the land and building were afterwards claimed as a gift from the 2nd Reign. This is the site at present occupied by the Portuguese Legation. Joachim Xavier, it may be noted in passing, was commonly known as Samien Yiking and was the father of Khun Pasa Parivatta (Louis M. Xavier), who was the grandfather of the present Phya Phipat Kosa. In order to avoid a mistake in Hunter's case similar to that made in the case of the Portuguese Consul, it was arranged that he should rent his *hang*. The Phra Klang had a piece of land in front of Wat Prayurawongse, and this he presented to the King, and in return Phra Nang Klao allowed the revenue obtained from the sale of bamboo wood to be temporarily devoted to the erection of the building for Hunter.* The first building erected was a three storey building with two wings, one on each side. The verandah of these wings joined the second storey of the main building. The cost of the whole was 180 catties, and allowing for the very solid

* There is Siamese authority for this statement.



The British "factory" from Neale's "Residence in Siam."



nature of the building this was a very reasonable price. The rental was Tcs. 600 per annum. On the other hand, Hunter's own written statement was that he paid the 600 ticals as the rent of the ground and that the buildings were erected at his own charges, the King agreeing to pay for them when he gave up possession. But instead of that being done, Hunter says when he left Siam he was made to pay not only the rent for the ground, but an equal sum for the buildings.

By vessels trading to Siam the building was called the British factory, but to the Siamese it was always known as "Hang Huntraa." The factory was the rallying point for all foreigners visiting the country, and in all the books of the period one finds references to the hospitality of Robert Hunter, who not only accommodated visitors, but in virtue of his position afforded them introductions to the Siamese and accompanied them to Court when the Sovereign gave audiences.

Earl writing of his visit in 1833 says, "Landing with Capt. Burgess at the factory, we found Mr. Roberts, the American Envoy, from the sloop Peacock, and Mr. Morrison, son of Dr. Morrison of Canton, staying there. The factory is a large white washed brick building two stories in height, and forming three sides of a square, the fourth being closed by a high brick wall. The ground floor was appropriated to warehouses, kitchen, and servants' rooms the upper portion being occupied by the Europeans." The Rev. Howard Malcolm, of Boston, visiting Bangkok about 1837, says, "Robert Hunter offered to introduce me to the King, but for various reasons I thought it inexpedient."

Neale in his Narrative of a Residence in Siam say that Hunter lived for some time in a floating house, moored near the Phra Klang's residence, and here it was that the business was started in December 1824.* This floating house, Neale says, was double the size of any of the others, very neatly painted, well furnished, with a nice little verandah in front. While he lived there his head clerk, Mr. Smith, of Paisley, died of malarial fever, and Mr. Hayes, another assistant, was also unable to work for nearly a twelvemonth, owing to the effects of the same complaint. Of the building erected

* Hunter's own Memorial gives the date as August 1824,

for Hunter, Neale writes: "Mr. Hunter's was a very fine prominent house, opposite to which the British ensign proudly floated on feast days, and here every stranger found a home, for a very prince of hospitality was Mr. Hunter and his young partner Mr. Hayes." In those days business was conducted in a more leisurely fashion than at present. Neale, who lived with Hunter, says: "We breakfasted at ten and after that meal were wont to walk backwards and forwards on the splendid balcony Mr. Hunter had erected, as much for the sake of exercise as to enjoy an uninterrupted half hour's chat. Then Mr. Hunter betook himself to his counting houseOccasionally we amused ourselves at Mr. Hunter's by playing Lagrace and we were once or twice guilty of a game at ringtaw. Night, however, brought with it its enlivening candle lights. The darker and more stormy the night, the more brilliantly illuminated the rooms used to be, and if the weather was particularly damp, we made ourselves comfortable with a good dinner and some fine old sherry, and then as a wind up, a drop of hot whisky toddyOne hour before midnight, as indicated by the old clock at Mr. Hunter's house, was the signal for us to disperse for the night, and long before that time arrived, the whole city was hushed in deep repose."

The "factory" was the first building to be erected in accordance with European ideas, in the Third Reign, and was called *Tiik Farang*. Afterwards Phra Pin Klao (Second King of the Fourth Reign, then holding the title of Krom Kun Isres, and leader of the Young Siam party of that day), built a house on European lines. This was designed by Mr. Chandler, and is still preserved at Phra Raja Wang Döm, now the Naval College, near the Vijayendr fort at the mouth of Klong Bang Luang. Mr. Chandler built another house for himself in the compound of what is now the Siam Forest Co., Ltd. at Bangkolem. Other American missionaries, arriving about this time, built their houses on piles. Then came Angelina Sap's house, the 2nd Robert Hunter's house, Dr. Samuel Smith's at Bangkolem, and the building of the British Legation in the 4th Reign. After that houses of that description were erected in different parts of the town. The term British factory was really a misnomer. In the sense that the Dutch had a factory at Ayuthia and at Phra Pradaang (in the district below the present Paklat), and the English in Bencoolen, the establish-

ment of Hunter on the west bank, could not be called a factory, inasmuch as it was not under the control of the British Government, as the other factories were, of their respective Governments.

At this time Portugal was the only one of the western nations which had a Consulate established here. It was opened in 1820. But she had little, if any, trade directly with Siam, and no great amount through her East India dependencies. Great Britain was represented in trade by Hunter, and there were several Mussulman merchants whose business brought to Bangkok three or four ships annually from Bombay. The native commerce of the kingdom was carried on entirely by means of junks of Chinese fashion up to 500 tons burthen. Square rigged vessels were first built in the Second Reign by the Phra Klang, as Government vessels. One was named Buddha Ummarth and the other Riddhi. They were used both for trading and sending Missions to China. In the Third Reign not only were more trading vessels built, but also war ships, such as Siam Bipop, Chop Samute, Soot Sagara, Chon Chap Chor, and Phonephen Tale. The building of these was superintended by the late Regent, known in the Third Reign as Khoon Sit (Luang Siddhi Naiwen), and later by Phra Nai Wai (son of the Phra Klang). Some Siamese and Chinese merchants also built square-rigged vessels, but made the head of the vessel like a junk. Bradley in his calendar, describing his recollections of 1835 (Third Reign), says Hunter had then about four vessels annually making voyages for him. The larger junks plied between Bangkok, Singapore, and Batavia; the smaller traded to the ports on the east and west coasts of the Gulf of Siam. Junks in the China trade then, as now, made one voyage each way a year. From February to June there were 60 to 80 of these junks moored in the river in two lines. These junks were practically a great bazaar for a period of two months or more from the time of their arrival. Each junk was freighted with the goods of several parties, and the commodities brought were chiefly teas, silks, Chinese crockery and Japanese wooden and lacquer ware.

Hunter doubtless perceived the possibilities of the Capital as a trading centre, despite the fact that trade was carried on for the King and could always be made a royal monopoly. Moreover, like the traders of a later generation in Bangkok, he realised that the most profitable business was to be transacted.

with the Court. The "Hang Huntraa" imported among other things cut glass and silks of good make. The cut glass especially was much fancied by Royalty and competed successfully with the glass imported from, and called, Batavia, which had hitherto held the market. Hunter studied the wants of the people who could afford to buy his goods and did well from the time of his arrival in the country.

Some stories are still current regarding his business dealings. On one occasion he persuaded an official to provide him with the measurements of the floor of the Amarindr Hall, and in due time a costly carpet arrived which Hunter wished to sell to the King. But not only was the price rather high but the official had evidently misled him, for the carpet was much too small; and the King refused to buy. No one else dared to buy it and finally with the King's permission the Phra Klang was allowed to purchase it, and it long adorned the sitting room of that nobleman's residence.

In 1843 Hunter advised the Phra Klang to have a steamer such as was then in use in Europe. The Phra Klang was in favour of making the purchase if the price was not too high. Hunter ordered the vessel which duly arrived and was moored in front of the Phra Klang's house (until recently the residence of the late Chao P'hya Bhanuwongse). Capt Bronze brought the vessel out. She was a paddle boat and called "Express." Difficulties arose regarding the price, and the boat was not bought. It is said the King was not impressed and pretended he did not believe an iron boat could float. An experiment was accordingly made with an iron bowl belonging to a priest, and on seeing that it floated Krom Luang Midisawarind, as he afterwards became, then the head of the Chang Sang (department for making arms) examined the steamer and subsequently made a small model for the King to see. His Majesty thereupon declared that there was no need to buy the imported vessel as when such boats were needed they could be made in Bangkok.*

At this time cowrie shells were universally in use as small change, and were brought by vessels coming from Surat and Bombay, together with other goods for the Indian merchants located at Tük Khao and Tük Dëng, and there was a considerable profit attaching to

* This is a Siamese account of what happened. The matter is dealt with at length in Hunter's Memorial.

their re-sale. A percentage of every shipment was presented to the King and the accumulations were kept in large Sawankaloke jars under the Chakra Vatti Hall in the Palace. In the 12th year of the Third Reign the King sent three nobles to visit Singapore and the Malay States, and on their return they reported that a copper coinage was in use in Singapore, and Hunter was requested to submit several kinds, and if one was approved an order would be given. The Phra Klang had two models made. One had Muang Tai in Siamese characters and two stars on the one side, and on the reverse a model of an elephant. The other was a design of lotus flowers. The coins did not commend themselves to the King and, when a small consignment arrived, Hunter found they were not wanted.

Not only did Hunter import, but we also find him conducting a thriving and profitable export business.

The political and commercial treaty which was the practical result of Captain Burney's Mission to Siam in 1825, led to a big increase of trade with foreign countries, so that in 1842 the number of square rigged-vessels that resorted to the river of Bangkok was no less than 55, chiefly under British colours. Nine of them were regular traders to Bangkok, and with the exception of three or four direct from Great Britain, most of them came from Bombay, Singapore or China. These boats mostly took away sugar, the average annual export of which was in 1844 put at 110,000 piculs of first quality.

Hunter enjoyed the King's countenance and favour for many years. But early in the forties evidence was forthcoming that the long period of prosperity which the firm had enjoyed in virtue of its close connection with the Court was drawing to a close. It may be mentioned that James Hayes came out to join Hunter in 1835, and later on one Christopher Harvey was also connected with the firm. Hunter had prospered very much and it is probable that his success led him to be less diplomatic in his handling of his business. He also incurred the displeasure of the King for importing opium for re-sale to Chinese. At that time the importation of opium in any form was prohibited, the Burney treaty stipulating, "merchants are forbidden to bring opium which is positively a contraband article in the territories of Siam." No one better than Hunter knew this, but the high profits to be made

in successfully evading the law probably led him to break it deliberately.

It may not be without interest to describe briefly the method of commercial intercourse between the firm and the Siamese. Goods were sold on credit, and the mode of payment was principally produce for export, the exportation of ticals being seemingly prohibited. When the sugar produce practically became a royal monopoly, dealers in sugar only being able to sell to the King or his representative, it created an awkward situation for the foreign traders, and Hunter was not slow to lay a complaint before the Governor of Prince of Wales Island, and later before the Governor General of India. The details which follow are taken from the correspondence published in the Burney Papers. James Hayes, his partner in business, first petitioned the Governor of Prince of Wales Island. After detailing the transactions of the firm in sugar, which Hayes maintained were being carried on at a loss, he proceeded.—“ In 1841 my firm in Siam had purchased up a very large quantity of teakwood timber. The exportation of Teak having been allowed hitherto, no suspicion had been entertained of a prohibition of this article, more particularly so, as the officers of the Siamese Government were aware of our buying up the said timber. If we had been informed beforehand, or while buying this timber, that its export would not be allowed, it would have prevented a very serious loss ; but the Siamese did not do so until it was in the act of being shipped, and as it was principally purchased by barter, the price it commanded in Siam, when resold, left us very heavy losers.” Again in the case of the “ Good Success ” arriving in Siam to purchase a cargo of sugar, “ the Government monopolised the whole trade in this article, and seized two boats which were at that time in front of the British factory.” In due course the Captain of the “ Good Success ” complained of the obstructions placed in the way of trade.

The Penang Government consulted the superior authorities in India, who replied that “ it did not appear to be established that the King had by the proceedings directly violated any article of the existing treaty, and that the interference of the Government of India was not, under the circumstances, necessary.” Finding that Hayes’ statement of the firm’s grievances did not meet the support anticipated, Hunter drew up a memorial to Lord Ellenborough.

He described himself as a British merchant and agent, and his memorial showed that he commenced business as a general merchant resident at Bangkok in August 1824 and "established a house there which has since hitherto been, and now is carried on under the firm of Messrs. Hunter and Hayes. That at the time of his first establishment there your Memorialist being the only British-born merchant resident in Bangkok, had to contend with all the difficulties attendant upon an experimental trade with people with whom at that time European Governments had no fixed commercial relations." The memorial also went on to show that when Hunter left Bangkok in February 1844 there were five permanent commercial establishments there, carried on by British subjects, of which Hunter and Hayes was the only one in which British-born subjects were interested, the other houses consisting of one native merchant from the Madras coast and three branch establishments of native houses at Bombay. The increase of trade, it was stated in the memorial, was principally fostered by the quiescence of the authorities who allowed cargoes to be despatched without let or hindrance, as long as the vessels paid the duties imposed and agreed to in the Burney treaty. Then in 1842, the trouble referred to regarding the "Good Success" arose. Hunter had contracted to buy 2 to 3000 piculs sugar from dealers at 7 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ ticals a picul, but by an order then issued by the authorities, sugar could only be purchased from the Royal stores. After a good deal of trouble the "Good Success" was loaded with sugar from the King's store at Tcs. $9\frac{1}{2}$ per picul. The same regulation regarding sugar was enforced in the following season, 1843, but the crop being large that year the firm were able to buy from the authorities at Tcs. $8\frac{3}{4}$ a picul, as compared with the dealers' selling rate of Tcs. $7\frac{1}{2}$. In the season of 1844 the right of dealing in sugar was farmed to two Chinese, who paid Tcs. 2 a picul for the privilege, and half a tical duty per picul. The average price that season was Tcs. 7— $7\frac{1}{2}$. Hunter alleged that the exporters lost by means of this monopoly something like Tcs. 275,000, most of which fell on the trade of British subjects. Hunter's second grievance was that at the request of the King he had procured and brought out to Bangkok "at great expense and risk" the steamer "Express," which the King failed to take delivery of. It was in this steamer Hunter eventually left Siam direct for Calcutta, "to claim of the Supreme Government not only that protection to person and property to which British traders are

entitled by the positive terms of the treaties made with your Lordship's predecessors in June 1826, but also redress for a manifest breach of those treaties which stipulated for a direct commerce between British subjects and the subjects of Siam without intervention of the State or its agents, in consideration of a consolidated measurement duty on their vessels entering the port of Siam."

The Under Secretary to the Government of India in preparing a memorandum on Hunter's memorial pointed out:—"From the treaties in force it does not by any means appear that any interference was intended with the King or that he should be prevented from monopolising any product of his dominions or granting such monopoly to any persons should he be so disposed.....The half tical levied from the sugar dealers for their monopoly by the King which goes under the name of duty as stated by Mr. Hunter can be considered no infraction of the treaty, for it is not levied from them because they sell to the English, but it is the sum paid by them for their monopoly to whomsoever they may choose to sell it. But it must be remembered that Mr. Hunter's differences with the King of Siam appear to have originated not so much on account of the sugar monopoly, which had been going on for two years previously without complaint on the part of Mr. Hunter, but on account of the steamer "Express." Until we are made aware of the whole circumstances of that transaction, whether the King furnished the funds for the purchase of the vessel, it is not possible to say whether the King may not have some just claim against Mr. Hunter."

The Commissioner at Moulmein, asked for his opinion regarding the dispute, reported that "the King and the nobles are traders, so is Mr. Hunter, who had for many years great influence with the Court. This he has now lost, and instead of being in some sort partners, he and the Ministers or King have become rivals in trade."

Hunter claimed to have abandoned property to the amount of three lakhs of rupees when he left Bangkok to go to Calcutta, but he had left a European in charge, one Mr. Harvey. Mr. Hayes (locally known as Samian Jim) was at home at this time. Hunter returned to Penang from Calcutta, where he explained in detail his grievances, and then went back to Siam. It has been suggested that this steamer "Express" was brought out partly in view of a possible conflict

between the Siamese and the British. This possibility was mooted at Bangkok, where it was thought that after the British had settled affairs with China, they might pay Siam a visit. Every preparation was made to effect a show of resistance. The fortifications at the entrance to the river were repaired, chain cables stretched across the river, and a large supply of guns ordered from England through Hunter and Hayes, as also the steamer "Express." The peaceable return of the British troops to India on the conclusion of the peace with China changed the King's view on the subject of the ordnance and steamer commissioned from Hunter and Hayes. Apparently Hunter then lost his temper and informed the Siamese that he would sell the steamer to the Cochin-Chinese, with whom the Siamese were on hostile terms, and this impolitic speech led to a request for his removal. Hunter left as we have seen and took the "Express" to Calcutta and on his return to Singapore handed her over to the Cochin-Chinese for the sum of 53,000 dollars. The guns and mortars ordered were also disposed of, together with a quantity of iron and sundry goods, bringing down Hunter's estimated losses from three lakhs to under one.

The Governor of Prince of Wales Island reported that it did not appear that the King had openly thrown any obstacles in the way of Hunter to retard the recovery of his debts, "although the withdrawal of the King's countenance from a former favourite would doubtless indirectly tend to this end.....When it was remembered that Mr. Hunter was looked upon and treated with the greatest kindness for a long period of years by the King and Court, the exasperated feelings of the King upon being told that negotiations would be entered into with his enemies are not to be wondered at. On the other hand had the Chinese war continued I am satisfied that the steamer and military stores would have been purchased without a murmur, but arriving as they did when their necessity appeared no longer urgent the King wished to obtain them below their estimated value, or considerably under the sum agreed for, and it was while smarting under this ungenerous proceeding that Mr. Hunter expressed himself in the unguarded manner referred to."

Hunter continued to try and get the support of the Governor while he stayed at Singapore, stating that advices he had received from Bangkok showed that Mr. Harvey (then in charge of the firm)

wrote in a strain of the greatest personal alarm. The Governor replied that he had no doubt the novel situation of Mr. Harvey, who he learnt was a very young man, could be anything but agreeable, and he thought it was to be lamented that he was left behind in such circumstances.....He did not think, however, there were sufficient grounds at present (March 1844) to warrant any movement on his part. In a further communication to the Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Hunter stated that after the sale of the "Express" he chartered the schooner "Venus" and sailed again for Bangkok on June 29th, 1844. He arrived in Bangkok in the middle of July and went to see the Phra Klang. Hunter according to his own statement was received very coolly, and the Minister enquired why he had returned to Siam. The Phra Klang added that it was understood that the object of Hunter's journey to Bengal was to complain against the King, but that he was too little a man for the Governor of Bengal to take any notice of. The Phra Klang also added that as he (Hunter) had sold the "Express" to the Cochinchinese he had better go to Cochinchina himself and get them another steamer. When Hunter applied for a pass to permit the schooner to leave Bangkok to return to Singapore, he was informed that it would not be granted unless he left with the ship, and he was obliged to consent to this, and ten days after his arrival in Siam, he returned to Singapore by the "Venus," having obtained permission to return with a large vessel to remove his property.

On arriving at Singapore Hunter chartered the "Gunga" and immediately returned to Siam. When the "Gunga" was half laden, it was His Majesty's intention to visit the temples and the "Gunga" was told she must go outside. This was done, and the ship continued loading by small junks. Hunter was also informed that he must go down the river while the King was afloat, and he remained away from Bangkok for three days. Later Hunter states in a further memorial the Phra Klang came to his house late one evening and stated Hunter must go down the river and remain outside the bar. Hunter accordingly, after some demur, left in a small boat in the middle of the night with young Mr. Christopher Harvey and reached the "Gunga" safely. Remaining on board for several days, Hunter again essayed to come to Bangkok, but was met at the river mouth and told he could not return until the King gave permission. Hunter does not categorically state

whether he did come to Bangkok again, but it is probable he did. He finally left the country on 29th December 1844, leaving Christopher Harvey for a short time to try and collect some of his debts. In his memorial he put his outstandings at 40,000 Spanish dollars besides which he claimed to have suffered heavy losses from a large quantity of goods having been returned to him by parties to whom he had sold them.

To a later memorial, dated 6th February, 1845, the Indian Government replied (16th Aug., 1845), "as the circumstances mentioned in Mr. Hunter's memorial do not differ materially from those on which the decision of the Government on the former occasion was based, it was considered unnecessary without further instructions from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to take any notice of the representation submitted by that individual, or to reopen the question of infraction in connection therewith, notwithstanding the adverse opinion recorded by the Law Commission in their report." The opinion of the Law Commission, it may be added, has not yet been found. A letter from the Court of Directors addressed from London, 2nd January 1846, to the Governor and Council of Bengal stated "with respect to the personal injuries complained of by Mr. Hunter, they appear to have been in some measure provoked by his own imprudence; and there would probably have been difficulty in establishing the facts in such a manner as to entitle your Government to make a public demand of redress on his behalf. We approve, therefore, of your non-interference. The general question remains whether the King's assumption of a monopoly of sugar is an infringement of the treaty. You referred the question to the Law Commission, who are of opinion that it is so. Major Broadfoot is of a contrary opinion, and you have determined not to interfere. Monopolies being a frequent and even habitual resource of the Siamese Government for purposes of revenue, we cannot but think that, if the Government had intended to bind itself never to re-establish them, an express opinion to that effect would have been inserted in the treaty. Without distinct proof in the correspondence at the time that such was the intention of the negotiations, we do not think our right of remonstrance sufficiently clear to induce us to exert it."

As far as can be ascertained nothing further was done by Hunter to prosecute his claims, and probably the dispute was then drop-

ped, after being under discussion for about three years. There is no doubt that, despite his losses, Hunter had done very well in his twenty years trading with the Siamese, and he went home. As far as we know, Hunter stood well with the British authorities both at Prince of Wales Island and in India up to the time of his falling out with the Siamese. Capt. Burney was glad to avail himself of his services during his Mission in 1826, and indeed Hunter was present, at Captain Burney's personal request, when the Mission were received in audience by His Majesty. He was also useful to the Indian Government on the occasion of Dr. Richardson's overland journey from Moulmein to Bangkok in 1839, and on the occasion of the decision of the King of Siam to restore the expelled Rajah of Kedah to his territory. "No British authority took part in the negotiation," a minute of the Court of Directors held in London 30th December 1842 states, "but it is considered to have been much aided by the good offices of Mr. Hunter," to whom a present of 5000 dollars* was made in conformity with expectations previously held out. For these services Hunter received the thanks of the successive Governors General at these periods. Hunter had the Siamese title of Luang Avudh Viset, conferred principally in recognition of his gift of muskets.

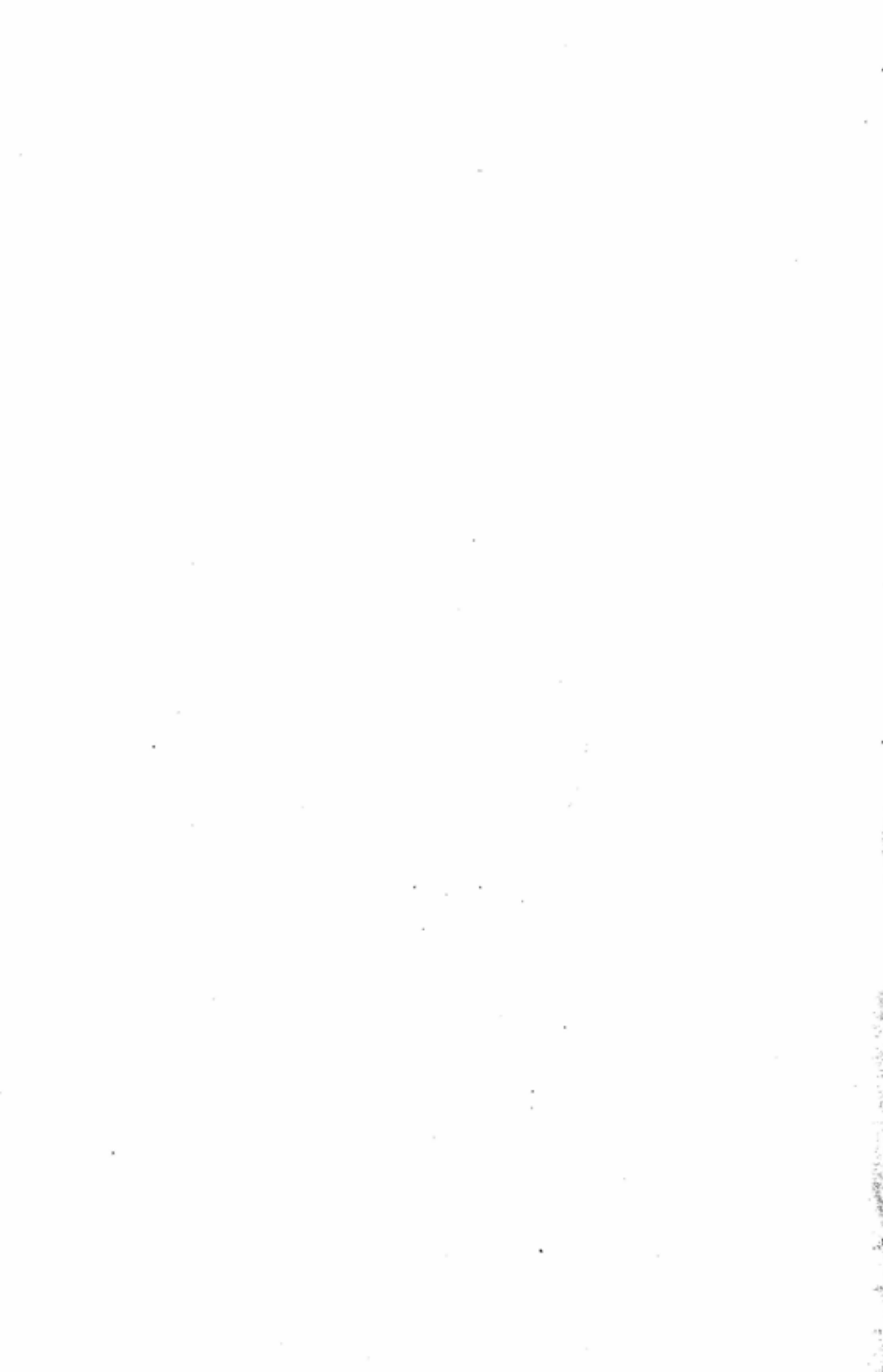
Hunter married in 1825, and his bride was Tan Puying Sap, whose home was close by the "Hang Huntraa" at Kadi Chin. This lady has quite an interesting ancestry, which it is believed extends back to Constance Phaulcon of Louvo. I have put together the information as far as it goes in an attempt to prove the relationship of Tan Puying Sap with Chao Phya Vichayen of Louvo. Phaulcon was married to a Japanese lady, and they had one son. This son afterwards served Siam, and was sent as Envoy to Pondicherry. He married a lady of Portuguese descent and died in 1754. There were many granddaughters of Constance Phaulcon but only one grandson, named John. He was taken into captivity at the fall of Ayuthia, but escaped in a few years and returned to Siam, settling in Bangkok at Sta. Cruz. One of the grand-daughters was taken to Mergui as a prisoner of war, and while there met Jean Chi, a Portuguese Captain in the Burmese Army, and subsequently married him at Mergui in 1768. He was a Catholic and came from Macao. Of this marriage

* Another official document of the period gives the sum as 5,000 Rupees.



From Bishop Pallegoix's Description of Siam.

Supposed to be portrait of Angelina Sap.



there was a daughter, Philippa, who married one Ta Vian, and was alive in 1861, when a census of the people at Sancta Cruz was taken. Angelina Sap was the daughter of this marriage, and she was born in 1805, and married in 1825 to Robert Hunter. She was thus a great grand-daughter of Phaulcon. The lady is spoken of as being a beauty, extremely fair, with eyes like Queen Victoria. She was accomplished, and it is not unlikely that part of her early life was spent in the palace of Wang Lang. In Bishop Pallegoix's book is a woodcut of a Siamese lady, which is said to be the portrait of Angelina Sap, and which Chao Phya Bhaskarawongse has recognised. Her portrait was used as being the fairest type the Bishop could get. Before her marriage she was always spoken of as Tan Puying Sap. She dressed grandly and was considered to be the most fashionable person of her day. On great occasions her silk panung was converted into a skirt, and she wore big silk pahoms (black or pale yellow). In old age she was stout, with very little hair.

Hunter was a sportsman, and fond of sailing. He had a cutter called "Friends" of about thirty tons burthen, in which excursions to the islands at the head of the Gulf were undertaken.

Of the marriage one son was born, in 1827, and was named after his father. He was sent home to be educated, and when he returned the father built himself a building on the klong at Sancta Cruz to the north of the "factory." It was in front of Angelina Sap's old home. Hunter the second married in 1849 Rosa Ribeiro de Alvergarias Noi, the Catholic daughter of Phya Viset Songkram. Of this gentleman Crawford wrote in 1822 :—"I had an interview this afternoon with Pascal Ribeiro de Alvergarias, descendant of a Portuguese Christian of Kamboja. His acquirements were remarkable, for he not only wrote the Siamese, Kambojan, and Portuguese languages with facility, but also spoke and wrote Latin with considerable propriety.....He was married to the lineal descendent of an Englishman named Charles Lister, a merchant who settled in Kamboja in 1701." He was descended from the Cambodians who settled in Samsen, but at the time of his daughter's wedding was said to be living at Ban Kamen, on the site now occupied by the palace of the Prince of Kambaeng Bejra. Robert the second was liked by the Siamese and in the course of time received the Siamese title of Luang Sara Sakorn, and carried on the duties which John

Bush was later on to develop, and which are to-day under the control of the Harbour Department. Hunter the second had a great deal to do with Sir John Bowring when that Minister arrived in Siam. On the arrival of the "Rattler" in the river Hunter went on board, and Sir John says:—"As far as I can see the arrangements for my entertainment have been confided to the care of Mr. Hunter." The "Rattler" after some discussion came up river and moored opposite the British factory. "I am located," Sir John wrote, "in the building called the British factory, but the building has been reconstructed and put in good order for my reception. I occupy two apartments above—a sitting room, large and airy, and a bedroom which has been newly papered, in which I sleep in a bed which is ornamented with drapery of scarlet and gold and from which garlands of flowers are suspended. Jars of fresh water are placed on my table with bouquets of roses and a Siamese servant speaking English has me in special charge." At one of the plays given by the King in honour of Sir John at which Hunter was also present, His Majesty called out to Mr. Hunter suggesting that he should bring Mrs. Hunter to the palace to dance, adding "that he knew this lady could dance as well as any of the performers then playing." It is to be assumed that the King spoke from knowledge as we know that the lady was brought up in the Palace.

Hunter the second was registered as a British subject at the Consulate, June 20th 1856, eight days after its establishment. By his official position the second Robert was brought into contact with the foreign sailing vessels visiting the port, and had a reputation for courtesy coupled with diplomacy in the carrying out of his duties. He also acted as Secretary to the Kalahome, and is so described in the register of deaths at the British Consulate. His religion was given as Presbyterian. He died very suddenly at Sancta Cruz, where he lived in his own house near his mother, at the age of 38 years, on the 19th April 1865. It may be recalled in passing that the death register of the British Consulate is singular in that the first entry is that of the British Consul himself. The second Robert had two sons, Robert the third and John Hunter. Robert was born in 1851/52 and John in 1854. Nori his third child was by a lesser wife. Robert the third and John were sent to be educated in Singapore at the establishment of the Reverend Mr. Hodgson and later were sent to Scotland. Mrs.

Leonowens in one of her books has the following reference to Mrs. Rosa Hunter:—"She had two sons, who had been taken away from her in their infancy by their Protestant father—lest they should be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith—and shipped off secretly to Scotland, in order that they might be educated under the influences of the Free Church of Scotland, in which he had himself been brought up. This occasioned a breach between husband and wife which led to their ultimate separation, and Rosa returned to the home of her childhood where I visited her at short intervals to write her letters in English to her absent boys," whom she regarded as lost "by the foolish prejudices of their father." Both of the grandchildren appear to have been in Government service at one time, one being described as Hunter Foreign Office and the other as Hunter Army. Robert the third inherited his grand-father's capability for business, and went to Cambodia and traded with the support of King Norodom. He fell ill, however, and returned to this country. He died in 1889. John remained in the service of Government and enjoyed a considerable reputation as a translator. He was also unfortunately a gambler, and is said in his desire to have money to have mortgaged his father's and his grandmother's property. The old lady died in her eightieth year on April 30th 1884. John died in 1891. Neither of the male grandchildren of Hunter married; but Nori did. She is described as being very fair. Her husband was a son of one Benjamin Bing, and of this marriage there was one son, and many daughters of whom some descendants survive. The son was in the army, and is reported to have died at Ubon in February this year. Benjamin Bing was a brother of Luang Akanee (Nai Chit), the man who established the first photo studio in the country and also managed the old gas works at Sao Ching Cha, from which gas was supplied for the illuminations at King Chulalongkorn's Coronation. There are several descendants of Hunter through Nori or Norah, but there is nothing to be gained by tracing the history of the family further.

The successor to Hunter's firm in the factory was a Portuguese merchant called Joseph but, losing money over the venture, he gave up after a short tenancy. In King Mongkut's reign the buildings were repaired and kept as a residence for distinguished visitors. They were repaired prior to the visit of Sir John Bowring, and again for the Austrian Mission, which arrived in 1869. The Irrigation Department's

new home was originally two properties. That on the klong belonged to the Somdej Chao Phya Ong Yai, who rented it to Dr. Bradley. The doctor lived there until King Mongkut gave him the land at the entrance to Klong Bang Luang where his daughter still lives. His late Majesty presented both the British factory and Bradley's old house to Chao Phya Bhaskarawongse. The new owner pulled down the old warehouse on the north side and replaced it with a two storey brick building. The south godown is still standing, but Chao Phya Bhaskarawongse removed two rooms at the river end in order to extend the original home of Hunter. In the latter's time these warehouses had very wide verandahs, which were made smaller during the alterations preparatory to the arrival of the Austrian Mission. The factory itself Chao Phya Bhaskarawongse did not alter, except that the doors and windows were remade, and the back verandah pulled down. For many years the property was known as Rajadut House. Thus although the buildings devoted to the Irrigation Department are not yet a century old, they have acquired an historical interest.

In conclusion I should like to add that in addition to the authors quoted, I have received much kind assistance from Chao Phya Bhaskarawongse, from the President of the Siam Society, and the Rev. Father Colombet, and they have also lent the major portion of the exhibits here this evening.

Genealogical table to show Robert Hunter's wife's ancestry.

CONSTANCE PHAULCON

MARRIED TO A

JAPANESE CATHOLIC.

Issue ; ONE SON, A CAPTAIN IN THE NAVY, WHO WAS SENT AS ENVOY TO PONDICHERRY, AND DIED IN 1754. HE MARRIED A LADY OF PORTUGUESE DESCENT.

Issue ONE SON AND MANY DAUGHTERS

John, a grandson, taken into captivity at fall of Ayuthia, 1767. He escaped in 1769 and came back to Siam.

He settled at Sta. Cruz.

One grand-daughter was married in captivity at Mergui to Jean Chi, a Portuguese Captain in Burmese Army.

Issue : A Daughter named Philippa, married to one of Portuguese Descent, called Ta Vian. Was alive in 1861 when a census of people at Sta. Cruz was taken.

Issue : Angelina Sap, Born in 1805, Married in 1825.
To

Robert Hunter

Issue : SON, ROBERT HUNTER M. ROSA RIBEIRO [SEPT. 1849]

Issue

ROBERT
Born 1851
Died 1889

JOHN
Born 1853
Died 1891

GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

An ordinary General Meeting of the members of the Society took place on June 23rd, 1915, to hear the paper by Mr. Adey Moore. The President, Dr. O. Frankfurter, was in the chair.

In opening the proceedings, the President said :— Before we proceed to the business for which our meeting has been convened, the reading of Mr. Moore's paper on the earliest British merchant in Bangkok, I may be allowed to make a few statements regarding our Society. In accordance with the law of 1914, the Society has been registered in due form and, being a purely scientific society, no fees for such registration have been exacted by Government. Further at a meeting of the Council held lately it was decided that for the period of 1914 and 1915 only the subscription for one year should be called and that consequently members who have paid their subscription in the commencement of the year 1914 are considered to have paid it till the end of 1915. New subscriptions will be called with the issue of the second number of the Journal. With regard to our publications you have received the first part of Volume XI early in September 1914, and the second part containing a translation of the Preface to Prince Damrong's History of Siam and the paper of Mr. Moore on Robert Hunter will be issued in the course of the next month. The third number will contain the concluding part of Khun Phraison's translation of the Burmese history of the intercourse between Burma and Siam, whilst it is intended to commence after that with the publication of Mr. Craib's and Dr. Kerr's articles on the Flora of Siam. We trust we shall also be able to print in the near future some important historical documents having reference to the intercourse of Siam with the East India Company, in the time of King Narayana. I have now to ask Mr. Moore to read his paper.

At the conclusion of the paper, the President said :—I am sure we have all listened with great interest to Mr. Moore's paper, and it is no mere phrase when in the name of the Society I thank him most cordially for what was surely a real labour of love. As things are, the period in which Mr. Hunter was in Bangkok is not so very distant, and still it is as if an age had elapsed between the first real merchant

appearing in Siam for trade and the present time. The way in which Mr. Moore brought out these different points entitles him to a full share of our thankfulness, combined with the hope that he will find leisure to show us something more of the past of Siam. I have now the honour to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Moore.

Mr. J. Crosby said the paper covered the ground very well, and many facts had been unearthed that were unknown to most of them. One additional fact that might be noted was that, according to Neale, Hunter was the man who discovered the Siamese twins. With regard to houses built in European style, the Borneo Company's house had not been mentioned, and he believed that was older than the British Legation. That house, however, was now demolished. On another point it might be noted that, although there had been no British factory here since Bangkok had been the capital, he believed there was an earlier British factory at Ayuthia. He believed Hunter was the first European allowed to build a house on the land. The name of Robert Hunter the second was the first on the register of British subjects here, and the second name was that of the late Dr. Samuel Smith, who probably met the original Robert Hunter. He had pleasure in supporting the vote of thanks.

This was cordially passed, and the proceedings terminated, those present then proceeding to examine the small loan collection of "Hunteriana" which had been arranged. The following is a list of the things shown :—

Drawing of the British "factory," from Neale's "Residence in Siam."

Photos of "factory" as it is at present.

Woodcut of lady said to be Angelina Sap, taken from Bishop Pallegoix's "Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam."

Original application of the second Robert Hunter to the Head of the Catholic Mission, dated Sept. 1849, for permission to marry Rosa Ribeiro de Alvergarias Noi, Catholic daughter of Phya Viset Songkram.

One of the copper coins imported by the original Robert Hunter.

Decanter stand with Hunter's crest.

Cut glassware, china and silver imported by Robert Hunter.

Old Racing prints formerly belonging to Hunter and taken from his house.





THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
SIAM SOCIETY.

VOLUME XI.

(PART 3.)

BANGKOK

1914-1915.

Issued to Members of the Society

February, 1916.

LONDON:
LUZAC & Co.

LEIPZIG:
OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.

THE SIAM SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED 1904.)

For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science
and Literature in relation to Siam, and neighbouring
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PREFACE.

The subject matter contained in this number of the Siam Society's Journal is a continuation of what was published in Vol. VIII, Part II of the Society's Journal, on the intercourse between Siam and Burma, as given in the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi of the Burmese. It brings the narrative to the fall and destruction of the Siamese capital at Ayudhya. The concluding portion of this series of translations from the Burmese history is in hand, and will probably be published in another number of the Society's Journal in the near future.

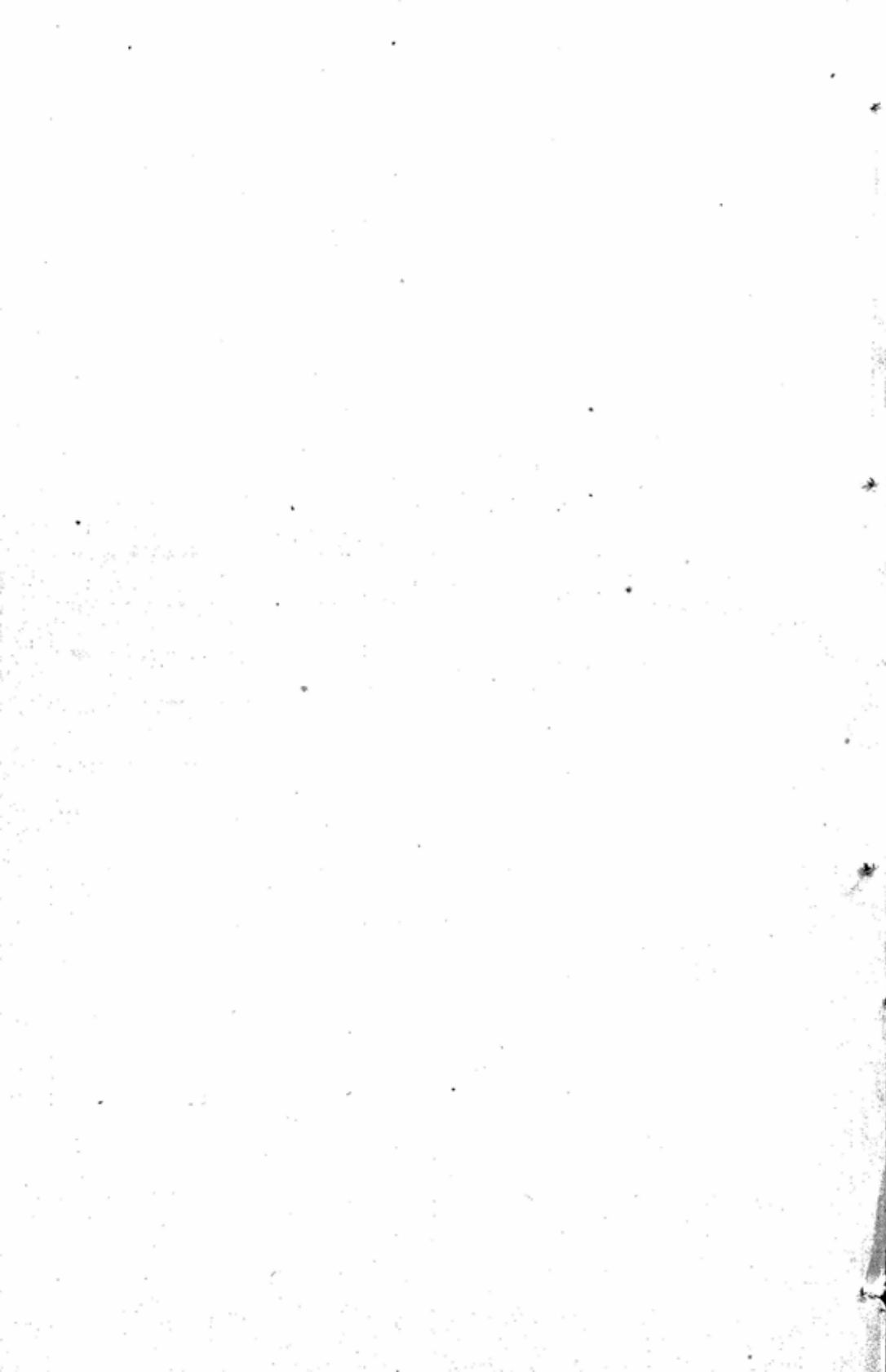
The translator begs to tender his thanks to Mr. W. H. Mundie, M.A., for kindly looking over the proofs and making corrections where necessary.

LUANG PHRAISON SALARAK,

(Thien Subindu).

Bangkok

February 25th, 1916.



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CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

- Page 2, line 6 of last para, for 'Kyaing-ton' read 'Kyaing-tôn.'
- „ 4, first line of last para, the first word in the bracket should
be 'Siri.'
- „ 4, last line of last para, for 'Kyaukmyaung' read 'Kyaukm-
yaung.'
- „ 4, foot-note 1., delete 'l. c.'
- „ 5, line 10 from top, for 'Mitayagyi' read 'Mintayagyi.'
- „ 9, line 6 from top, put period after the word 'rest.'
- „ 11, line 3 from end of para, for 'Tha Yaik' read 'Ta Yaik.'
- „ 12, line 5 from top, for 'Thalan' read 'Talan.'
- „ 17, second line, for 'Siri Sudhammaraja' read 'Siri Sudhammarājā.
- „ 22, first line, for 'Tunyin' read 'Tuyin.'
- „ 23, line 4 from end of para, for 'Udain,' read 'Udein.'
- „ 28, line 19 from top, insert comma after the words 'under him.'
- „ 30, line 6 from bottom, for 'A. D. 1765' read 'A. D. 1766.'
- „ 54, end of foot-note 2 on page 53, for 'characteristies' read
'characteristics.'
- „ 58, serial No. 13 remarks column for 'ဘုရားဘုရား' read 'ဘုရားဘုရား.'

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BURMA AND SIAM, as recorded in Hmannan Yazawindawgyi.

I.

The last paper on the subject of the intercourse between Burma and Siam as recorded in the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi ended with an account of the capture of Ava, the capital of the Burmese, by the Talaings, and the taking away to Hanthawadi of the Burmese King, the last of the dynasty founded by the famous Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata. It was also hinted there that the success of the Talaings was only temporary, and that a new Burmese hero arose in the person of Maung Aung Zeya,¹ who subsequently founded a dynasty.

What is contained here is the account of the intercourse between Burma and Siam during his reign and those of his successors.

Within a brief period of five years from the beginning of the year 1114 (A. D. 1752), when he first raised the standard of revolt against the Talaings, to the beginning of the year 1119 (A. D. 1757), Maung Aung Zeya, a native of Mòksobo,² a town to the north of Ava, or Alaung Mintayagyi,³ as he was subsequently known in Burmese history, had made himself master of both Burma proper and Hanthawadi. He had not only driven away the Talaings from the whole of Burma proper, but had invaded the Talaing country, captured their capital and deposed their king. Since that time the Talaings lost their national power, their feeble attempts to overthrow the Burmese sovereignty being promptly and rigorously suppressed.

In spite of the great distance between Hanthawadi and Zinmè (Chiengmai) and the lack of facilities of communication in those days, news of the rise of Alaung Mintayagyi and his success over the Talaings reached Zinmè. One of the Kings of Hanthawadi known

1. ช่างไหะ. พระราชพงษาวดาร ฉบับ พระราชหัตถ์ เลขา เดิม ๒ หน้า ๒๓๓

2. บ้าน มุกโซโบ. l. c. 3. พระเจ้าอลองพญา ibid, page 234

as Singyashin Thamein Taw,¹ who had left Hanthawadi and found a refuge in Zinnè, must have heard of the achievements of Alaung Mintayagyi. He sent Daw Theikdi Yaza, Etga Pyinnya (Agga Paññā) and Einda Thari (Inda Sārī) to convey a message of congratulation to the Burmese hero; they arrived while the latter was still engaged in the siege of Hanthawadi and about a month and a half before its fall. During the siege the messengers were left in the care of Minhla Mingaung, one of the commanders of the army. Six days after the capture of Hanthawadi, which took place on the 10th of waning of Kasôn 1119 (May A. D. 1757), they were sent back with a letter from the chief minister (lit: agga mahā senāpati) to Thamein Taw and the Governor of Zinnè. The letter recapitulated the successes attained by Alaung Mintayagyi, culminating in his capture of the capital of the Talaings and the submission of the Sawbwas and governors all over Burma and Hanthawadi. It then ended with an exhortation, and a threat, to Thamein Taw and the Governor of Zinnè to come over to His Majesty and swear allegiance to him, if they valued their dignity, position and life, and desired happiness both mental and physical. Should they fail to do so, mistrusting their armed strength, the fate which befel the King of the Talaings and his people would inevitably be theirs also.

A message similar to the one sent to Zinnè was sent on the same day to the Governor of Môtama, and a reply was received from the Talaing nobles Binnya Thiri Gônna Teza and Daw Einda Bala Byama tendering their submission.

On the 9th of waxing Wazo 1119 (July A. D. 1757), there arrived at Hanthawadi representatives from the following Sawbwas of the Shan and Yun countries with messages of submission accompanied by presents. The Sawbwa of Anan sent his son Nan-hôn with three elephants; those of Maing-kyi and Kyaing-kaung (Chiengkong) one elephant each; the Sawbwa of Kyaing-ton (Chieng Tung) sent Paya Kaungbaing with two ponies complete with gold saddlery and trappings; those of Payaw, Lawin, Byè and Dalaing one pony each; the Sawbwa of Kyaing-thin sent one hundred and twenty men carrying many presents of cloths, musk, scented unguents, &c.

1. **ဝိမာန** **ကဝိ** Vide Siam Society Journal Vol. VIII, Part II, pages 98-100.

Alaung Mintayagyi conferred upon Daw Zwèyaset, a Talaing nobleman, the title of Binnya Dala and commissioned him to keep watch and guard in the town of Mòttama. He then demolished the the town of Pè-gu (Pegu) so that it should not harbour rebels and afford them shelter and means of defence, and left Hanthawadi for Yangôn (Rangoon), the town built by him, and thence he returned to Upper Burma, going up the Eyawadi (Irrawady) in a big royal barge. He left Rangoon on the 12th of waning Wazo 1119 (July A. D. 1757) and, on the 10th of waning of the following Tawthalin (September), arrived at Yadana-Theingal¹ (Ratana Singha), the capital built by him.

Possessed of more than ordinary energy and elated with his recent success over the Talaings, Alaung Mintayagyi allowed himself only a year's rest at his own capital before he was up in arms again, this time against the Kathès, the people of Manipur. The Kathès were defeated, the Sawbwa together with the whole population of his capital fled and took refuge in the forests and mountains, and when the Burmese entered the town there was not a single soul in it. Attempts were made to secure the Sawbwa but without success. So Alaung Mintayagyi returned to his capital after appointing one of the ministers of the Sawbwa to look after the affairs of the State, and planting a stone inscription in the centre of the town to the effect that only rightful heirs by lineal descent should become the Sawbwa. The expedition lasted only three months from Tazaungmôn to Tabodwè 1120 (November 1758 to February 1759).

It may not be out of place to mention here that Alaung Mintayagyi's treatment of the conquered people was such as to strike terror into their hearts. Over 4000 Manipuris were ordered to leave their native village and go to a place called Tamu, but as they did not like to go they attempted to rise in rebellion, and the punishment meted out was the wholesale slaughter of the entire body of men, not a soul escaping death.

About five months after his return from the expedition to Manipur, he left his capital for Rangoon with the object of dedicating a "zayat" (sālā) which he had built within the precincts of the famous Dagôn pagoda. Although the object of the journey was the

1. เมืองรัตนสิงห์, พระราชพงษาวดาร ฉบับ ๒ หน้า ๒๓๔.

peaceful one of performing a religious ceremony, he was nevertheless accompanied by a big army both by land and water; and the reason for that was, probably, he thought it unsafe to go into Talaing country without a large armed force at his back, or he still wanted to quench his thirst for conquest by encroaching on Siamese territory.

The following Shan Sawbwas had to accompany him, each with his contingent of fighting men, namely, the Sawbwas of Tilin, Yaw, Teinnyin, Thaung-thut, Kale, Mo-nyin, Mo-gaung, Ban-maw, Mo-meik, Thibaw, Nyaung-ywe, Mo-nè and Mo-byè. This Shan contingent consisted of 13 regiments each commanded by its own chief and numbered 3,000 horse and 25,000 men. It formed the land forces and marched via Toungoo. The forces by water consisted of the following. The vanguard, composed of 10 regiments under the command of his second son Thiri Damayaza (Siri Dhammarāja), Prince of Myedu,¹ was 10,000 strong with 300 big war boats. Then came His Majesty Alaung Mintayagyi, surrounded by a force of 24 regiments of 24,000 men in 600 big war boats, the disposition being 6 regiments each in front and rear and 6 regiments each on the right and left. This division was under the command of Alaung Mintayagyi himself, Minguang Nawrata being appointed as his lieutenant. There was also a body-guard of Kala Panthes (Portuguese) in their national uniform. The rear guard consisted of 10 regiments, five of which with 5,500 men and 100 big war boats were commanded by his third son Thado Minhla Kyaw, Prince of Amyin,² and the remaining five of the same strength were led by his fourth son Thado Minsaw, Prince of Badôn.³

Leaving behind his eldest son Thiri Thudamayaza⁴ (Siri Sudhammarāja), the Crown Prince, in charge of the capital, he embarked together with his chief queen and his younger children at the town of Kyankmyaung on Thursday the 10th of waning Wazo 1121 (July

1. มังระ ราชบุตร ที่ สอง ผู้ครอง เมือง บิดุ 1. c. พระราชพงษาวดาร
เล่ม ๒ หน้า ๒๕๕.

2. มังไป ผู้ครอง เมือง อเมียง. 1. c.

3. มังเวง ผู้ครอง เมือง ปคง. 1. c.

4. มังดอกร ราชบุตร ผู้ใหญ่ ผู้ครอง เมือง ตีปะเยียง. 1. c.

A. D. 1759). On arrival at Rangoon he had the Dagôn pagoda gilded from top to bottom. The three "zayats" and the ornamental structure sheltering the pathway leading up to the pagoda, all built by him, were also superbly gilded, and the religious ceremony of dedicating them for public use was solemnly performed. Various other shrines such as the Kyaik-kauk pagoda at Than-lyin (Syriam) and the famous Shwe Mawdaw at Pegu were visited by the chief queen and the royal family.

The dedication ceremony and the pilgrimages being over, Alaung Mitayagyi was contemplating a return to his capital, when news reached him that the Siamese had encroached into Dawè (Tavoy) district; that three ships on their way to Rangoon had been seized and detained, and that a sea-going boat sent by him to Dawè had been captured by the Siamese. Incensed at this insult to his might and dignity, he said he would himself march to Yodaya and capture the capital. His followers tried to dissuade him, saying that calculations of his horoscope prognosticated evil and that the direction in which he would march was also unpropitious according to certain beliefs; that if he would persist in the march, illness might overtake him. But he would not be dissuaded, and accordingly sent back his chief queen and the royal family by water in charge of his two sons Thado Minhla-Kyaw and Thado Minsaw.

A portion of the army together with the regiment of Kala Panthes were sent on to Dawè in five ships. Alaung Mintayagyi and his son Thiri Damayaza together with 40 regiments left Rangoon on the 3rd of waxing Pyatho 1121 (January A. D. 1760) and went by boats up the river to Hanthawadi. Thence they went overland to Môtama, and, on arrival in the town, Alaung Mintayagyi became aware that the Talaing noble Daw Zwèyaset, whom he had appointed Governor with the title of Binnya Dala, had been conspiring with Talaban¹, the famous Talaing general, to rise in rebellion. Daw Zwèyaset was executed, and another Talaing by the name of Daw Talut was appointed Governor. From Môtama a portion of the army was again despatched to Dawè by means of sea-going boats, and the remainder was taken across to Mawlamyaing (Moulmein) by means of rafts and boats. The Burmese Monarch went from Mawlamyaing

to Dawè, and arrived there in thirteen marches. A rest of seven days was given to the army while waiting for the arrival of the detachments which were transported from Rangoon in ships and from Môtta in sea-going boats. When they arrived, the whole army marched from Dawè to Byeik¹ (Mergui). The advance guard consisted of 800 horse and 3,000 men under Mingaung Nawrata, and 500 horse and 5,000 men under the the Myedu Prince. Alaung Mintayagyi followed behind with the rest of the army. Byeik, then apparently Siamese territory, was captured, and two days later the Siamese port of Taninthari² was captured. There appeared to have been no serious fight in the capture of these two towns.

By that time news had reached the Siamese capital of the invasion of Alaung Mintayagyi. The Siamese Monarch³ despatched a force of five regiments, composed of 300 horse and 7,000 men under Bya Tezaw,⁴ and another force of fifteen regiments, composed of 200 elephants, 1,000 horse and 20,000 men under Aukhya Yazawunthan.⁵

The Burmese left Taninthari, and after five days march they were met by the Siamese forces under Bya Tezaw in a narrow defile⁶ between Kwibaung and the town of Kwi.⁷ A fight took place there between the Siamese and the Burmese advance force under Mingaung Nawrata, in which the Siamese were forced to retire. On the retreat of the Siamese, the Burmese did not encamp but by a forced march went on to the town of Kwi and captured it, and encamped in the town. The march was continued thence, encamping at the following villages, namely—Kaukmi, Byan, Paungthakayi, Thinman, and Naung-kyauk.⁸ From the last named place the town of Byat-pi⁹ was reached and it was captured on the same day. Here a rest of three days was given to the troops, after which they marched in the

1. เมือง มฤค

2. เมืองคทาวศรี

3. สมเด็จพระบรมราชาที่ ๓ (พระที่นั่งสุริยาศน์อมรินทร์)

4. พระยาเคโธ

5. พระยาราชวงศ์จักรี

6. แก่งคฤม. พระราชพงษาวดารเล่ม ๒ หน้า ๒๖๓

7. เมืองกุย—ibid, p. 262.

8. ทนของจอก ?

9. เมืองเพ็ชรบุรี

direction of Ratbi¹ and encamped at Panmaw² village. They left the place the next day and arrived at the town of Ratbi, which was taken the same day. Apparently no attempt was made by the Siamese to hold these two towns.

The army rested for four days at Ratbi, and it then continued its march and encamped at Ban-Lwin³ village. When the Burmese had left that village and gone some distance towards the sea, they were met by the Siamese force under Aukbya Yazawunthan, which consisted of 15 regiments with 200 elephants, 1,000 horse and 20,000 men. The Burmese vanguard under Mingaung Nawrata and Minhla Nawrata engaged the Siamese and were getting the worst of the fight, losing heavily in killed and wounded. The Myedu Prince, Thiridamayaza, very opportunely came up with his forces, in time to turn the tide of battle and secure a success. The Siamese army was routed; about 100 elephants, 1,000 rifles, 180 guns and 2,000 men were captured. The commander-in-chief Aukbya Yazawunthan managed to escape on horse-back. That day the Burmese encamped at Ban-Kyin.⁴ On the next day they were again on the move and, after encamping at Ban-Tun⁵ and Ban-Kyauk⁶ on the way, they captured the town of Thapanbôn.⁷ Here they took rest for five days.

When His Majesty of Siam heard that the towns of Byat-pi and Ratbi had fallen, and that the Burmese had already captured Thapanbôn, he made elaborate preparations for the defence of the capital, mounting additional-guns on the ramparts, commandeering elephants, horse, men and provisions, and taking them into the city. Then to try and intercept the enemy, a force of 800 elephants, 3,000 horse and 30,000 men, divided into six brigades, was sent to Talau river to oppose the crossing. The following were in command of the six brigades, viz., Bya Tezaw, Bya Seinda Mani,⁸ Bya Binda Thura,⁹ Bya Kamani,¹⁰ Aukbya Yazawunthan, and Aukbya Kalahôn,¹¹ and the last named was appointed commander-in-chief.

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| 1. เมืองราชบุรี | 2. บ้านหม้อ ? | 3. บ้านหลวง ? |
| 4. บ้านจัน ? | 5. บ้านต้น ? | 6. บ้านจอก ? |
| 7. สุพรรณบุรี | 8. พระยาจีนตามณ ? | 9. พระยาอินทสุระ ? |
| 10. พระยาคามณ ? | 11. เจ้าพระยาตากโมม. ตาม พระราชพงษาวดาร | |

เจ้าพระยามหาเสนา เปน แม่ทัพ—*ibid.*, p. 262.

The Burmese left Thapanbôn and, when the advance guard under Mingaung Nawrata and Minhla Nawrata arrived at Talan river¹, they found the opposite bank full of the Siamese forces. Finding they were greatly out-numbered they dared not commence the attack, but waited for the remainder of the army to come up. Before long the Myedu Prince arrived with the forces under his command. He wanted to attack the Siamese at once, but Mingaung Nawrata asked him to desist, saying that they were not very far from the capital, that the army then opposing them would not be like that they had already encountered, but would be composed, most probably, of Yodaya's picked forces especially chosen and sent by their Sovereign, and that the number of elephants, horse, and men appeared to be much greater than before. He said it would be advisable to strike a decisive blow and put the enemy to rout in one engagement, as the moral effect of such success would be to strike terror into the minds of the whole population of the capital. He added that His Burman Majesty was still at some distance, and they should therefore wait till he came within reach of the scene. While they were thus discussing, mounted messengers from Alaung Mintayagyi arrived ordering them to defer engaging the enemy till he himself should come up. Some time after the arrival of the messengers they saw at a distance the royal standard of their Sovereign usually carried on the elephant ridden by him, and heard the sound of drums and gongs of forces on the march. Then the Myedu Prince ordered a general attack, personally conducting the operations. Mingaung Nawrata was on the right, Minhla Nawrata on the left, and Minhla Thiri in the centre; they forded the river simultaneously to attack the Siamese on the opposite bank. The Siamese opened a heavy fire while the Burmese were still fording the river, and inflicted a severe punishment increasing the death roll of the Burmese. The invaders were temporarily held in check by the severity of the fire of the defenders from their vantage ground. Just then Alaung Mintayagyi with his forces arrived on the scene and joined in the fight. Thus reinforced, the three columns which went into the river first were able to gain the opposite bank and a severe fight ensued. The Siamese, having lost the advantage they at first had of being on dry land while their foes were in water, were defeated. Five brigade commanders, Aukbya

1. [†] **ตำนานพม่า**—ibid, p. 262.

Yazawunthan, Bya Seiunda Mani, Bya Tezaw, Bya Binda Thura, and Bya Kamani were captured together with the elephants ridden by each of them. The commander-in-chief Aukbya Kalahôn escaped by abandoning his elephant and getting away on horse-back.¹ The Burmese encamped at Talan village and stayed there three days taking rest. They then marched on to the Siamese capital and arrived on Friday the 11th of waxing Tagu 1121 (April A.D. 1760). It took thirty-six marches from Dawè and eighty marches from Yadana Theinga² to reach Dwayawadi the capital of Siam. The Burmese Monarch encamped at Naung Ôntun³ to the north of the city, and the rest of the army encamped surrounding it. After their defeat at Talan the Siamese confined their activities to the defence of the capital.

The Burmese officers then sent a message to the Siamese nobles to the following effect:—

That as the religion of Buddha was not prospering in Siam, their Sovereign had come, as was the wont of Embryo Buddhas, to promote the welfare and prosperity of Buddha's religion; that the Siamese king had neither showed his submission by offers of elephants, horses and royal children, nor issued a challenge to fight in open battle; and that their Lord, having Buddhahood as his final aim, had released the Siamese nobles captured at Thapanbôn without doing them any harm.

To this the Siamese nobles replied that in the present cycle of the world only five Buddhas were to appear of whom four, namely Kakuthan,⁴ Gawnagôn,⁵ Katthapa⁶ and Gawtama⁷ had already appeared and entered Neikban (Nibbāna), and there was only Miti Buddha⁸ to appear, but he was still at Tôtthida (Tussita), heaven; they sarcastically asked what Embryo Buddha was the Lord of the Burmese, as it was five Buddhas at the most that appeared in any one cycle, and never was there any precedent in which a sixth Buddha appeared.

1. According to พระราชพงษาวดาร it was พระยา รัตนทิเบก who escaped on horse-back. Vide *ibid.* p. 263

2. เมือง รัตนดิงค, *ibid.* p. 259.

3. According to พระราชพงษาวดาร ที่ บ้าง กุ่ม บ้าน กระ เคือง *ibid.* p. 263.

4. Kakusandho.

5. Konagāmano.

6. Kassapo.

7. Gotamo.

8. Metteyya.

His Siamese Majesty consulted his generals Abya Yaza,¹ Abya Muntri and other nobles and princes as to the action to be taken to drive the enemy away. Then Abya Yaza told his sovereign that as it was already the beginning of May the rains would soon break and the whole country round the capital would then be inundated when, not only the elephants and horses of the enemy would be in great trouble, but even the men would find it hard to discover a dry spot on which to cook their food; that they would then be obliged to raise the siege and retrace their steps, and the Siamese could choose to attack or not as they pleased, but that it would be mere waste of energy to try and dislodge the Burmese from their positions and force them to retreat, when such retreat was a matter of certainty if the Siamese would simply guard the capital from capture, and issue orders to the governors of the towns round about the capital to do likewise; and that they should in the meanwhile send some conciliatory message to the Burmese Monarch. The princes and the nobles were unanimous in seconding the opinion expressed by Abya Yaza. His Siamese Majesty approved of it and accordingly reinforced the defences of the capital, both on the walls of the city and in the boats and ships in the river; orders were also sent to the surrounding governors to redouble their energies in the defence of their towns. Then the nobles Bya Theikdi,² Bya Thupawadi³ and Bya Thurakanma⁴ were sent to the camp of the Burmese with a message that His Siamese Majesty would make presents of elephants and horses and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Burmese Monarch. The three Siamese nobles were taken to the camp of Mingaung Nawrata, who sent them on to the camp of the Myedu Prince. There they were closely questioned by the Prince, and having learnt the object of their visit he reported the fact to his father. His Burman Majesty had orders conveyed to the Siamese messengers that the object of his march to Yodaya was not to depose her King but to advance the cause of Buddhism, especially as Buddhism had been established in Siam, but had not been progressing; and that the Siamese Monarch should come out and meet him. The Siamese nobles, duly apprised of His Burman Majesty's orders, left the Burmese camp.

1. เจ้าพระยาอภัยราชา?

2. พระยาสิทธิ

3. พระยาสุภาวดี

4. พระยาสุรกา

About ten days after that event, Alaung Mintayagyi felt indisposed. He summoned his son and the generals and officers to a council to discuss their future plan of action. He said that the Siamese would not come out and fight, and, although messengers had arrived to say that their sovereign would acknowledge Burmese suzerainty, no further steps were taken to come to a final understanding; that the rains were approaching and they must therefore decide on what they were to do. The Myedu Prince then said that there was no sincerity in the Siamese King sending his message of submission, it being only a ruse to gain time till the rains properly set in, when it was said that the people of the country were obliged to keep even their cattle on raised platforms; that as the rains were about to break and as His Majesty himself was not in the best of health, they should betake themselves to their homes, and when the rains were over they could come again. Mingaung Nawrata agreed to all that the Myedu Prince had said and adduced further reasons why they should raise the siege and return. He said that the walls of the city were very strongly built and very extensive; that it was surrounded by numerous rivers, streams and canals, and in every one of them there were ships and war-boats armed with guns and manned by Kala Panthes; that as the city had never before been completely destroyed and the reigning king and family captured and removed, it still possessed abundance of war material and a strong and well equipped army of elephants, horse and men; however, he said, nothing could withstand His Majesty's might and the fall of Yodaya was certain if His Majesty would only attempt to take it, but the principal question for consideration was His Majesty's health, especially as the sooth-sayers solicited him not to undertake the expedition. He further said that they were late in their start and great delay was caused in having to come by way of Taninthari and to capture the towns on the way; that owing to the appearance of a great number of mosquitoes and flies, sickness had prevailed among the men; that they should leave the capital alone for the time being, but that when the rains were over they should invade simultaneously from three points, one column marching via Yabaing,¹ another through Tha Yaik² and a third by way of Dawè, and the principal towns should be captured by the months of Nadaw and Pyatho (December and January).

1. မြေပေါ်သို့

2. ကာကွယ် ?

Being moved by anxiety about his own health and in deference to the wishes of his chief officers, Alaung Mintayagyi approved of the proposal made by his son and Mingaung Nawrata and decided to return to his capital. He ordered the release of the five Siamese nobles taken prisoners in the fight at Thalan, together with their elephants. Leaving Mingaung Nawrata in command of five squadrons of Kathè cavalry containing 500 horse, and twelve regiments of infantry 6,000 strong, he left the Siamese capital on Thursday the 3rd of waxing Kasôn 1122 (May A. D. 1760), accompanied by the rest of his army. After a day's march he left Minhla Nawrata with a force of 200 horse and 3,000 men, with orders to keep himself in touch with Mingaung Nawrata, in case the latter might need assistance.

When the Siamese Monarch became aware of the retreat of Alaung Mintayagyi, he suspected that there must be some special reason why the Burmese King should withdraw, especially as he had the advantage of success in the preliminary engagements. He sent out men to try and find out the reason, but they came back without knowing it; they, however, discovered that the greater portion of the Burmese army had departed and only a very small force was left behind. His Siamese Majesty sent out a force of 400 elephants, 4,000 horse and 40,000 men to capture the whole of this handful of Burmese, and to pursue and attack the Burmese King while on the march. Undaunted by the overwhelming numbers of the Siamese forces, Mingaung Nawrata remained where he was and showed fight. The Siamese completely surrounded the Burmese; and when thus surrounded Mingaung Nawrata's lieutenants tried to prevail upon him to see the great inequality of the two forces; moreover, they said, the Siamese could, at a moment's notice, bring up further reinforcements, while they themselves were cut off from further help. They proposed that they should break through the Siamese forces on the north side and retreat. But the Burmese general would not listen, and his reason was that if they were to retreat the Siamese would certainly follow them, and were they to give battle within hearing of their Sovereign, who as they knew was not in good health, his march homewards would be retarded through his anxiety for their safety. He decided to fight the Siamese in spite of the great odds. Accordingly he ordered 100 horse and 1,500 men to attack the Siamese on the south side, a like number to assail the enemy on the north and west sides, while he himself led a force of 200 horse and 1,500 men against the enemy on the east side

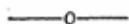
where they were in greater number than in the other directions. The Siamese were routed in every direction, leaving many dead on the field. Mingaung Nawrata was able to secure the head of a Siamese officer whose rank entitled him to use a gilt umbrella. Considering the disparity of the two forces and the ground on which they fought, the result of the battle appears to be incredible. It is very probable that the Burmese realized their own unenviable position and became desperate, and sheer desperation drove them to deeds of heroism. Hearing the report of cannons and guns, Minhla Nawrata hurried back to the assistance of his brother general, but arrived after the fight was over. Mingaung Nawrata requested the well-meaning officer to go on ahead to overtake His Majesty, and to rest assured that His Majesty's confidence in his ability to repel any attack was not misplaced. He remained in his camp at Ban Tun for about five days more, and finding that the Siamese would not make any further attempt, he withdrew and followed the main army. Apparently the Siamese made no attempt to follow the retreating Burmese.

After twenty-four marches, His Burman Majesty reached a village outpost¹ on the border of Mottama district and expired there on Sunday the 12th of waning Kasôn 1122 (May A. D. 1760). The fact of the death was kept a secret, only his son and immediate attendants knowing it. The body was conveyed to Pegu and thence to Rangoon by water, and from there again up the Irrawady to Yadana Theinga, the capital built by him. Thus ended the career of a man of considerable energy and perseverance, who founded a dynasty which lasted just over one hundred and thirty years.



1. คำบดเมฆาโลก *ibid.* p. 265.

SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT
OF THE SAME.



Alaunghprâ now determined to invade Siam. Pretexts for this measure were not wanting. Thousands of Talaings had taken refuge in Siamese territory, and bands of that race had made incursions on the Tavoy frontier, which had lately been re-occupied by the Burmese. The conqueror, it is stated, was also incensed against the King of Siam because he had refused to give him one of his daughters in marriage. He decided to march by the coast route to Ayuthia, as he had ships which could sail down the coast with provisions, and keep up communication with the army. Before he left Rangoon his principal officers advised him not to undertake the expedition; and the astrologers represented that the aspect of the planets foreboded evil. Disregarding these warnings, the army marched. Alaunghprâ took with him his second son, Myêdu Meng. Moving by Hansawadi and Sittaung, the whole force, including the ships, assembled at Martaban. A Talaing officer had been appointed governor of that city. He was suspected of being in secret correspondence with Talabân, who was in the Zimmè territory during the late rebellion. The governor was now put to death. The army crossed the Salwîn river, and marched down the coast to Tavoy and Mergui. The port of Tenasserim, then occupied by the Siamese, was next entered; and a day's march in advance occurred the first skirmish with the Siamese forces. Alaunghprâ, traversing the low mountain range at this narrow part of the peninsula, debouched on the shore of the Gulf of Siam at or near the village of Banlaym. From thence marching northerly, a severe engagement with the enemy occurred at the Mayklaung river. The Siamese were defeated with heavy loss in killed and prisoners, elephants and guns. Alaunghprâ took up a position

Invasion of
Siam.

December,
A. D. 1759.

before the capital, Ayuthiâ. He soon found himself in dangerous plight. The Siamese king rejected all offers of peace, and was determined to hold out until the rise of the river should flood the camp of the besieger. Alaunghprâ was not prepared to support his army during a long siege. In vain he sent conciliatory messages, declaring that he came not to destroy the city, but as a Bodhisatwa to preach the law of holiness and deliverance from earthly desire. He would enter the city as his predecessor Goadama had entered Kapilawastu, his father's city, and subdue men's hearts by kindness. The Siamese, in reply, ridiculed his pretension and defied his power. While a glorious anticipated apotheosis was thus being announced, a grievous downfall was at hand. The destined Buddha revealed to his confidential attendants that he felt stricken by mortal disease. He had only been five days before the city he came to conquer, when a retreat was ordered. The route selected was the valley of the Menam river. The dying king was carried in a litter. The retreating army, much harassed by the Siamese, pushed on rapidly; and when near Rahaing, turning westward, reached Myawadi in the upper course of the Thaungyin. When halfway to the Salwin, Alaunghprâ died. He was forty-six years old. The death was concealed as long as possible. The body was borne to Hansawadi and Rangoon. The Myêdu Meng proceeded without delay to the capital, and the body was conveyed there by the river. It was burnt with the funeral rites of a Chakravarti or universal monarch.

About
10th April
A. D. 1760.

Retreat and
death of
Alaunghprâ.

Middle of May
A. D. 1760.



II.

On the death of Alaung Mintayagyi his eldest son,¹ Thiri Thudamayoza (Siri Sudhammaraja) Prince of Dabayin, who had already been appointed Crown Prince and left in charge of the capital during his father's absence in Hanthawadi and Siam, ascended the throne on the 9th of waxing Nayôn 1122 (June A. D. 1760), assuming the title of Thiri Pawara Maha Damayaza (Siri Pawara Mahā Dhammarājā).

Mingaung Nawrata,² Alaung Mintayagyi's most able and trusted general, raised the standard of revolt. Several attempts to win him over to the new Sovereign by peaceful means were made, but they all failed, as he was firm in his belief that his life was forfeit and that the amnesty and royal favour offered were only a snare to entrap him. He captured Ava with the intention of making it a base from which to extend his authority to Pagan, Toungoo, Hanthawadi and Môttama. It was a forlorn hope from the first start, as the whole of Burma proper was loyal to the descendant of the liberator of the Burmese from the Talaing ascendancy and the founder of the new dynasty, and it ended in utter failure. Ava was invested by the new King, and when it became evident that the town could not be held any longer, Mingaung Nawrata left it with a small band of adherents intending to make his way to Chiengmai. He was, however, pursued, overtaken, and killed in resisting capture.

Trouble did not end with the death of the rebel general. During the life time of Alaung Mintayagyi, he had appointed his brother Thado Theinkathu,³ Governor of Toungoo. Alaung Mintayagyi having died, Thado Theinkathu thought of setting up a kingdom of his own. The King came with an army and Toungoo was invested. Talabau,⁴ the famous Talaing general, who made good his escape after

1. มังดก. Vide พระราชพงษาวดาร ฉบับพระราชหัดถเลขา เล่ม ๒ หน้า ๒๖๖

2. According to Siamese History he is called แมงละแมงกอง ibid.

3. According to Siamese History he is called สโคธมหาสิริยอานา ibid p. 269.

4. ตะบอง ibid, p. 269.

the fall of Hanthawadi, had all this time eluded the Burmese, and had been living at a place called Kaw Kun. He and another Talaing noble by the name of Biunya Kyin with a force of 2,000 men marched to Sit-taung¹ with the intention of helping Toungoo. The Burmese King sent a force against them and they were forced to retire. Toungoo was stormed and captured on the 10th of waxing Tabodwè 1123 (February A. D. 1762). The King was very humane in his treatment of the conspirators; not only was the life of his uncle spared, but the nobles who had aided and abetted him were also pardoned: they were not even degraded from their offices, a very unusual procedure in the history of Burma.

Soon after his return from his expedition to Toungoo, the king of Burma despatched a force of four regiments consisting of 750 horse and 7,500 men under the command of Abaya Kamani² to take Zimmè together with her fifty-seven provincial towns and add them to the Burmese empire. At the same time another force of five regiments consisting of 3,500 men, under the command of the Wun (governor) of Lamaing, was sent down by water to go and capture Talaban, who had established himself with a following at Kaw Kun, to the east of Möttama river. The Burmese forces completely surrounded the Talaing general who, seeing resistance futile and escape impossible, surrendered himself. He was taken to the Burmese capital, and the Burmese King most magnanimously pardoned him and even allowed him to serve in the army.

King Thiri Pawara Maha Damayaza, the most humane and magnanimous King in the history of Burma, had not the good fortune to hold sway over united Burma for long. Death overtook him at the early age of twenty-nine years, having reigned only three years and a half. His reign was not illustrious, but it was unsullied by bloodshed. He died on the 9th of waning Nadaw 1125 (December A. D. 1763), and was succeeded by his next younger brother Thiri Damayaza,³ the Prince of Myedu.

In accordance with the wishes of Alaung Mintayagyi that all his sons should succeed to the throne of Burma one after another in

1. จิตตอง 2. อาบระกามณี *ibid*, p. 271.

3. มังระมหาอปรราชอนุชา *ibid*, p. 273.

order of their seniority, his second son Thiri Damayaza, the Prince of Myedu, ascended the throne, on the 10th of waning Nadaw 1125 (December A. D. 1763), but the "Rajabhiseka" or coronation ceremony was performed on Wednesday the 7th of waning Nayôn 1126 (June A. D. 1764), on which occasion he assumed the title of Thiri Thudama Maha Yazadibadi (Sīri Sudhamma Mahā Rājādhīpati). He is better known in history as Sinbyushin, meaning Lord of the white elephant, and for the sake of brevity he will be called King Sinbyushin in this paper.

The expedition sent to Zinmè in the previous reign under the command of Abaya Kamani proved successful, the town being taken and occupied. Leaving behind Minyè Thiri in command of the force of occupation, Abaya Kamani returned to the Burmese capital, taking with him the Prince of Shwedaung together with his wife and children, and also a former king of Hanthawadi known as Singyashin Thamein Taw.¹ The former was a son of the King of Ava whom the Talaings deposed and took away to Hanthawadi. Besides these refugees Abaya Kamani also took away many arms, elephants, ponies, and valuables, as presents for his royal master. He arrived at the capital on the 13th of waxing Tabodwè 1125 (February A. D. 1764), about a month and a half after the new King had ascended the throne. King Sinbyushin appointed Abaya Kamani to be Governor of Zinmè, and conferred on Min-hla Thiri, one of the commanders in the Zinmè expedition, the title of Maha Nawrata² and appointed him to be minister in charge of cavalry. But soon after Abaya Kamani and Min-hla Thiri had left Zinmè with a portion of the Burmese forces, a rebellion was planned by Nwè Mano and Nga San Kôn, in which the governors of the following places were implicated, namely, Maing-yungyi,³ Thammat-phabaung, Lagun, Lwèlun, Maingthat,⁴ and Maingpu.⁵ Minyè Thiri, the Burmese officer left in Zinmè, submitted a report of the rebellion to his Sovereign. On the receipt of the report, King Sinbyushin despatched an army with orders to suppress the rebellion, then to conquer the Kingdom of Linzin,⁶ and there-

1. According to Siamese History the Chief of Chiengmai พระยาจันทน์ was also taken away. *ibid*, p. 272.

2. มังมหานรธา 3. เมืองยวม 4. เมืองสาก ?
5. เมืองป 6. ล้านช้าง

after with the auxiliaries from Zinmè and Linzin to effect the conquest of Yodaya. The army was composed of eighteen regiments of infantry containing 100 elephants and 20,000 men, and ten squadrons of cavalry containing 1,000 horse. It was under the supreme command of Nemyo Thihapate,¹ with Kyawdin Thihathu and Tuyin Yamagyaw as seconds in command, and left the Burmese capital on the 6th of waxing Tabaung 1125 (March A. D. 1764).

Within a year of his accession to the throne King Sinbyushin entertained the idea of the conquest of Siam. He had, as Prince of Myedu, accompanied his father in the latter's invasion of Siam and was therefore not unfamiliar with the topography of the country and the war tactics and the fighting capacity of the Siamese. He made arrangements for the proper control and administration of his extensive territories, so that he could devote his whole attention to his scheme of conquest. To Toungoo, Hanthawadi and the towns in the Talaing country, as well as to the frontier towns of Dawè and Myeik,² he appointed governors together with the necessary assistants; he also appointed two commissioners to reside in the courts of each of the Governors and Sawbwas on the east and west side of the Thanlwin³ river, such as Zinmè, Kyaing-rôn,⁴ Kyaing-tôn,⁵ Monè,⁶ Nyaung-ywe,⁷ etc; and also on the east and west side of the river Erawadi (Irrawaddy) and Thanlawadi (the Chindwin river), such as Kale, Mo-hnyin,⁸ Mo-gaung,⁹ Ban-maw,¹⁰ Thibaw,¹¹ Mo-meik,¹² etc. He then reorganized the various units of the military and civil services, forming them into bands of 40 to 60 men, each with a chief.

As soon as he had made the arrangements described above, he said to his ministers that Yodaya had never before been utterly destroyed and crippled, and therefore it might not be possible to attain the object in view with only such forces as were under Nemyo Thihapate sent via Zinmè. He said that, to expedite the success of the expedition, a force was necessary to enter Yodaya by way of Dawè and accordingly ordered that a force composed of 20 regiments of infantry containing 100 elephants and 20,000 men, and 10 squadrons of cavalry

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| 1. เนเมียว มหาเสนาบดี | 2. เมือง มฤค | 3. แม่ทัพ หรือ แซตวิน |
| 4. เชียงรุ่ง | 5. เชียงคอง | 6. เมืองหน้า |
| | 7. ย่องทวย | 8. เมือง ยาง |
| 9. เมือง ช้อง หรือ เมือง กอง | 10. บ้าน หม้อ | 11. สี่ ปอ |
| | | 12. เมือง มิตร |

containing 1,000 horse, he sent via Dawè under the supreme command of Maha Nawrata¹ with Nemyo Gônarrat and Tuyin Yan-aung-gyaw as seconds in command. This force left the capital on the 8th of waxing Nadaw 1126 (December A. D. 1764).

Only about a month and half after the despatch of the forces to Yodaya to proceed by way of Dawè King Sinbyushin took an army of 300 elephants 1,000 horse and 40,000 men to Manipura,² the country of the Kathès. As usual the chief of the state after a feeble resistance took refuge in the wilds and mountain fastnesses, leaving his capital to the tender mercies of the Burmese soldiery. On this occasion the Burmese Monarch did not waste his time and energy in the pursuit of the chief, but took away with him nearly the whole population of the capital, including women and children. The expedition lasted only about three months.

From the time of his accession to the throne, King Sinbyushin had the intention of making Ava his capital, and it was there that he performed his coronation ceremony. Therefore soon after his return from Manipura, he had the old capital of Ava rebuilt, and on the 11th waxing of Tagu 1127 (April A. D. 1766) he transferred his capital from Yadana Theingya to Ava.

The forces under Nemyo Thihapate which were despatched to Zinmè arrived at Monè. There a levy of a regiment was demanded from each of the Sawbwas of Monè and Nyaung-ywe and the Myozas (governors) of Yatsauk,³ Maing-Kaing,⁴ Lè-gya,⁵ Maing-seik,⁶ and Maing-pun.⁷ These seven regiments contained 3,000 men who were made to march in the van, probably as a precaution against desertion. When they arrived in the town of Kyaing-taung,⁸ mounted messengers despatched by Minyè Thiri, the Burmese official in charge of Zinmè, also arrived with the request that they should hasten their march as quickly as possible. The Shan contingent of seven regiments together with three regiments of Burmese were placed under the command

1. มังมหานรธา. Vide พระราชพงศาวดาร เล่ม ๒ หน้า ๒๗๕

2. เมืองมณีนคร คือ เมืองนครราชสีมา ศรีสวัสดิ์ ibid, p. 274.

3. ดอกรอก 4. เมืองค้าย ? 5. ดายา 6. เมืองจิด?

7. เมืองปุม ? 8. เชียงตุง ?

of Sitkè (assistant in command) Tunyin Yamagyaw and ordered to march via Maing-pu and Maing-that. Nemyo Thihapate himself with 25 regiments marched by way of Maing-thwin¹ and Kyaing-rè.² On arrival at Lwè-lun hill, Nemyo Thihapate learned that the two rebel leaders Nga Thudit and Nga San Kôn, with their families and a following of over 3,000 men, had gone and laid siege to the town of Payaung.³ The Burmese then marched to Payaung, but the rebels not daring to contend with the Burmese raised the siege and went and joined Nwè Mano at the town of Labôn.⁴ The Burmese followed the rebels to Labôn, but on their approach Nwè Mano fled hastily from the town with only a small following, being unable to take even his family away with him. The Burmese general captured Labôn without resistance and he was able to seize over 200 elephants and a large quantity of arms. Taking these valuable spoils of war he went on to Anan,⁵ where he quartered during the rains, giving rest to his army and planning the campaign against Linzin and Yodaya.

Then orders from the Burmese capital were received that as soon as the rains were over Nemyo Thihapate was to operate against Maing-Lôn,⁶ Linzin and Maing-La and capture those towns. Accordingly on the 8th of waxing Tazungmôn 1126 (November A. D. 1764) the Burmese general left Anan with his 25 regiments, and proceeded by water via Maing-Leik and reached Maing-Lôn in 19 marches from Maing Leik. The ten regiments under Tuyin Yamagyaw proceeded by land and in 18 marches reached Maing-Lôn.

The King of Linzin mounted guns and guards for the defence of the town, and he and his nobles took out a force of 1,000 elephants, 2,000 horse and 50,000 men to make a stand against the enemy on the banks of the Me Kaung⁷ river to the west of the town. The Burmese attacked the Linzin forces, which suffered a heavy loss in killed and wounded and were compelled to retire into the town. The invaders encamped on the banks of the river and, cutting off the heads of over 10,000 men of the Linzin army who had fallen in the battle, made a most ghastly pile of human heads, evidently with the object of striking terror into the defenders of the town. They seemed to have

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| 1. เมืองฉนวน ? | 2. เมืองทราย | 3. เมืองพญา | 4. กำพู |
| 5. เมืองพวน ? | 6. เมืองหลวง ? | 7. เมืองไจ | |

attained their object, as the Burmese historian was careful to say that the people in the town saw the pile, which must have been heart-rending and revolting in the extreme, and that the terror caused thereby was very great.

The town of Maing-Lôn was built on land between two branches of the river and offensive operations against the town were necessarily restricted. The Burmese therefore crossed the river, built platforms on which they mounted their guns and sent shells into the town day and night. For five days they did so, apparently with little or no effect. Then the Burmese Commander-in-chief said to his officers that their errand was not simply to conquer Zimmè and Linzin, but they had orders to operate against Yodaya also; therefore they could not go on investing and shelling the town till the King of Linzin was forced to surrender, but they must hurry on the capture of it by a vigorous assault. In this he was unanimously supported by his officers, and accordingly orders were issued to the 35 regiments to build war chariots. With these they approached to the very walls of the town, and a very vigorous assault was made, some digging the base of the walls and some scaling the walls with ladders. The defence was equally vigorous, but owing to the obstinate determination of the attackers, half the town was captured, the defenders still maintaining hold of the other half. The Burmese then carried their big guns on to high ground and kept up an incessant cannonade into the camps of the defenders. The king of Linzin could not stand this heavy cannonade at short range, and was thus obliged to sue for peace. He sent eight priests and a minister with the title of Daw Baya, with presents, to the Burmese general to convey the message that he would make the customary offer of royal children, elephants, ponies and arms and acknowledge the suzerainty of His Majesty of Burma. Nemyo Thihapate administered the oath of allegiance to the King of Linzin, the governors of the following towns, namely, Maing-Lôn, Maing-Han,¹ Maing-San,² Maing-Myi, Maing-Thwin, Maing-La, Maing-Nyaung, and Maing-Thin, and the ministers and nobles. Then Letya Udain Kyaw was sent back to His Burman Majesty with the following presents and prizes of war:—Three daughters of the King of Linzin accompanied by daughters of the principal ministers as maids-

1. မောင်လှ

2. မောင်ချစ်

of-honour and over a thousand slave attendants including men and women, over two hundred viss of silver, fifty viss of gold, five hundred cannon, one thousand fusils, one hundred elephants, five hundred spears, five hundred swords, five hundred shields, five hundred boxes and five hundred caparisons. Thus Linzin together with her King, the master of a million elephants, became subject to Burma. So says the Burmese historian.

The Burmese forces left Maing Lôn on the 5th of waxing Tagu (April) and reached Lagun on the 10th of waxing Kasôn (May), where they set up their quarters for the rainy season, the second season since they left their homes. It is recorded that there was a very high flood that year, and both men and animals of the Burmese army were hard put to find suitable dry ground for their camps. The water spirit was summoned and, having been threatened with a drawn sword, was commanded in the name of His Burman Majesty to cause the flood to subside. The Burmese historian naively records that only when thus commanded did the water go down. During the recess in the rains, Nemyo Thihapate and his officers made arrangements to obtain contingents from Zimmè, Linzin and the Sawbwas and governors on the east side of the Thanlwin river, preparatory to the march against Yodaya.

The forces sent by way of Dawè under Maha Nawrata quartered at that place during the rains, making arrangements in the meantime to levy contingents from Hanthawadi, Môtama, Byeik,¹ Dawè, and Taninthari. When the rains were over the Burmese army was augmented by the addition of the following forces which came over to Dawè, namely, 3,000 men formed into six regiments under the command of Einda Yaza (Indarājā) from Hanthawadi, 3,000 men also in six regiments under the command of Binnya Sein from Môtama, and four regiments of 2,000 men from Taninthari and Byeik under the command of Lakyawdin, while four regiments of 2,000 men levied in Dawè were placed under the command of the Governor of Môtama. The total of the forces after the addition of the levies amounted to 200 elephants, 2,000 horse, and 30,000 men. This army left Dawè for Yodaya on the 10th of waxing Tazaungmôn 1127 (November A.D. 1765). The governors of the towns in Siamese territory on the line of march of the Burmese

1. The same as Myeik, မြေပျံ မြေပျံ.

got information of the entry of the enemy into Siam, and promptly repaired the moats, parapets, towers, etc., and made preparations to defend their towns to the best of their ability by laying down spikes, throwing up earth-works, setting up palisades, and mounting additional guns and men on the ramparts.

The Burmese arrived at the town of Byat-pi, the governor of which decided to defend the town as he dared not fight the enemy in the open. The town was, however, stormed and taken, the governor and all the inhabitants being captured. There was the usual looting, but arms and ammunition had to be sent to the camp of the commander-in-chief, and the rest of the booty, including men, women, gold, silver, etc., became the property of the person who had been able to seize it. Having administered the oath of allegiance to the principal officials of the town, and leaving a small force of occupation, the Burmese continued their march to Ratbi. Apparently the governor was taken away as a prisoner. The governor of Ratbi, having already heard that Byat-pi had fallen and its governor been made prisoner, gave up the idea of defending the town, and together with the principal officials went to the Burmese camp and tendered submission. The Burmese general issued orders to every regiment that the inhabitants of the towns which offered no resistance should not be molested in any way. He administered the oath of allegiance to the governor and the principal officials, and left them in charge of the town. The Burmese army then proceeded to Thapanbôn, the governor of which followed the example of the governor of Ratbi, met the Burmese general on the way with presents, and tendered his submission. They marched on to the town where the governor and the principal officials took the oath of allegiance. The next move of the Burmese was towards Kanpuri.¹ The governor of that town had stored up a large quantity of food supplies and had sufficient time to get men and arms into the town to defend it: so he decided not to submit, but, although a stubborn defence was offered, the town fell to the fierce attack of the Burmese. Many houses were burnt down and a general loot was allowed to the men, arms and ammunition being as usual considered as the State share of the booty. The oath of allegiance was given to the principal officials, the governor apparently

being taken away as a prisoner. A small force was left to occupy the town, as in the case of Byat-pi. The town of Saya,¹ was the next objective of the Burmese. The governor readily tendered his submission, and he and his officials took the oath of allegiance; they were allowed to assume the administration of the town as before. The general then proceeded to Sun-pyôn.² The governor of that town would not submit, but the defence must have been very feeble as the Burmese stormed and took it quite easily. There was the attendant looting in taking a town by assault, and the usual apportioning of the booty as regards arms and ammunition. As was the case with towns which offered resistance, the governor here was taken away as a prisoner, and the town was left in the charge of the principal officials, who had to take the oath of allegiance; a small force was also stationed to maintain order and suppress any attempt to organize armed resistance against the Burmese. The invaders then marched to the town of Salin³; the governor, having learnt of the fall of the towns lying on the west of it, went out together with his chief officials to meet the enemy, and tendered submission. They took the oath of allegiance and were allowed to resume their posts as before.

As usual with the Burmese invading army, each of the towns captured had to raise a levy and join the army to assist in the prosecution of the object of the invasion. It was no doubt a wise policy as the levy not only augmented the size of the army, but were also hostages in the hands of the conquerors for the good behaviour of the remaining population of the town. Moreover, the absence of a good portion of the fighting men from the town effectually crippled the power to rise in rebellion, thus enabling only a very small force to hold the town and maintain order. From each of the towns captured by the Burmese, the general commanding commandeered the best men, elephants, and ponies to join the army. Thus a levy of seven regiments was obtained, one from each of the following towns, namely, Byat-pi, Ratbi, Thapanbôn, Kanpuri, Saya, Sun-pyôn and Salin, and they were placed under the command of Mingyi Kamani Sanda.

1. ဗီယာ

2. ဣပျ

3. I have not been able to identify this town, which could not be very far from Chumpon.

The invading army thus reinforced then proceeded in the direction of Yodaya with the Siamese contingent marching in the forefront.

The King of Siam,¹ being informed of the incursion of the Burmese by way of Dawè, sent out an army consisting of 500 elephants, 500 cannons mounted on carriages, and 60,000 men, under the supreme command of Paya Pala.² This army took up its stand apparently outside the town of Thigòk³ towards the west of the capital. The Burmese cavalry acting as scouts discovered the Siamese army, and news of it was at once sent back to the main army. Maha Nawrata, the commander-in-chief, sent an order to the 57 regiments warning them of the nearness of the Siamese and requesting them to get ready to make an attack. The Burmese did not wait to ascertain the strength of their opponents and appeared to have discarded all tactical movements, making a frontal attack on the whole line of the Siamese army. A fierce battle ensued, resulting in the defeat of the Siamese, who were forced to retreat. Over a hundred elephants and 200 cannons were captured, and over 2,000 men made prisoners. The Burmese did not follow up the retreating army, but turned their attention to the town of Thigòk, which they stormed and captured together with its governor. The oath of allegiance was given to the principal officials while the governor was held a prisoner. Then leaving a small force to hold the town, the Burmese marched towards Yodaya, and encamped at Kanni village, to the west of the capital and within five days' march from it. A message was sent to His Burman Majesty conveying the news that all the towns to the west of Yodaya had been captured and that the Burmese army was encamped at Kanni village. They decided to give full rest to the forces and wait for the arrival of the army which was coming through Zinnè.

The Burmese army which had been spending the recess during the rains at Lagun received orders from the Burmese capital to proceed against Yodaya. So on the 8th of waxing Tawthalin 1127 (November A. D. 1765) it left Lagun for Yodaya, largely augmented

1. สมเด็จพระบรมราชาที่ ๓ (พระที่นั่งสุริยามรินทร์)

2. พระยาพล?

3. คำบด ตี ฤก ibid: p. 282.

by the contingents commandeered from the territories of Zinmè and Linzin. Twenty regiments consisting of 10,000 men made up into four brigades of five regiments each, under the command of Tuyin Yanagyaw, were sent down the river with 300 war boats. Nine regiments were raised one from each of the following towns in Linzin territory, viz., (1) Maing-Lôn, (2) Maing-La, (3) Maing-Han, (4) Maing-San, (5) Maing-Myi, (6) Maing-Thwin, (7) Maing-Nyaung, (8) Maing-Thin, and (9) Maing Pan, and they were placed under the command of Thiri Yazathingyan, who already had a Burmese regiment under him and who thus became the commander of the Linzin division. The ten regiments under him contained 100 elephants, 300 horse, and 8,000 men, and they formed the vanguard of the forces marching by land. Fourteen Yun regiments were levied, one from each of the following towns, namely, (1) Byè, (2) Anan, (3) Lagun, (4) Payaw, (5) Kyaing-Thin, (6) Kyaing-Kaung, (7) Kyaing-Lat, (8) Kyaing-Rè, (9) Maing-Lèik, (10) Maing-That, (11) Maing-Law, (12) Maing-Pu and (13) Maing-Nwè and (14) a regiment under Paya Sapan; these were placed under the command of Thado Mindin, in addition to his own Burmese regiment. The fifteen regiments under him, forming the Yun division, contained 200 elephants, 700 horse, and 12,000 men and marched next to the Linzin division. The contingents levied from the towns subject to Burma or captured during an invasion were generally commanded by the governors of the towns, unless there was some valid excuse, such as infirmity, illness, or other incapacity to exempt them from following the army, in which case they deputed the command to some principal officer under them. Nemyo Thihapate, the commander-in-chief, with 13 regiments under his own command brought up the rear. The whole of the forces which came by the northern route, including the Linzin and the Yun contingents, amounted to 58 regiments consisting of 300 war boats, 400 elephants, 1,200 horse,¹ and 43,000 men.

All the towns on the line of march made the usual preparations to defend themselves against the impending attack. The first town stormed and taken was Ban Tet.² As usual in the case of towns which offered resistance, general loot was allowed, the governor taken prisoner, and a

1. The number given in the original is only 200, which is evidently a mistake.

2. မာတတ

small force left to occupy the town. The governor of Ywahaing,¹ having heard what had befallen Ban Tet, went to the Burmese general's camp and submitted. The people were in consequence not molested and the governor was allowed to retain his position and rank after taking the oath of allegiance. News of the surrender of Ywahaing reached Kamanpaik²; the governor thought it prudent to follow the example of Ywahaing, and so he and his principal officers went out with presents and met the invaders on the way. On arrival at the town, the oath of allegiance was administered to the governor and his officers, they being allowed to retain their offices. The Burmese then marched to Thuwunkalauk,³ the governor of which being fully prepared for the attack, would not submit. The town, however, fell quite easily to the attack of the Burmese, and shared the usual fate of towns which offered resistance. The governor was taken away and a small force left to garrison it. Then they proceeded to Thankkatè,⁴ where the governor tendered submission. Having given the oath of allegiance to him, the invaders went to the town of Yathama,⁵ the governor of which met the enemy on the way and tendered his submission. The Burmese went to the town where they gave the oath of allegiance to the governor and his officers. From there they marched to Peikthalauk.⁶ The governor, trusting to the size and strength of his town, preferred resistance to submission. The town, however, could not withstand the attack of the Burmese and fell quite easily into the hands of the enemy. Looting was allowed and the governor made prisoner. Here the Burmese general rested his army for about ten days. He then sent a force of ten regiments under Thiri Nanda Thingyan, and another force of the same strength under Kyawgaung Kyawthu, in different directions to operate separately against the following towns:—Lalin, Peiksè,⁷ Tani,⁸ Biseik,⁹ Kunthanwun¹⁰ and Intaung.¹¹ None of these towns offered any resistance, they having heard that the Burmese had captured all the towns on the north and east, and that the main army was encamped at Peikthalauk. The two commanders

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| 1. เมือง ระแหง | 2. เมือง กำแพงเพชร | 3. เมือง สวรรคโลก |
| 4. เมือง ศุโขทัย | 5. Or Rathama. | 6. เมือง พิชณโลก |
| 7. เมือง พิษณุ | 8. เมือง ขาญ | 9. เมือง พิชิต |
| 10. เมือง นครสวรรค์ | 11. เมือง ข้างทอง | |

administered the oath of allegiance to the governors and chief officials of the towns, and taking with them the brothers or sons of the governors as hostages returned to Peikthalauk.

One hundred and fifty guns taking in charges varying from one viss weight to 15 viss weight, which were seized from the towns on the way, were sent back to Zimmè under an escort. The best elephants, horses, men and arms were commandeered from each of the following towns already captured, and an auxiliary division was formed of them and placed under the command of Nanda Udein Kyawdin, namely, (1) Ban-Tet, (2) Ywahaing, (3) Kamanpaik, (4) Thuwunkalauk, (5) Thaukkatè, (6) Yathama, (7) Peikthalauk, (8) Peiksè, (9) Lalin, (10) Tani, (11) Biseik, (12) Kunthanwun and (13) Intaung. This division consisted of thirteen regiments and raised the total of the regiments in the whole army to seventy-one. Then placing that latest addition to the army in the van, the Burmese marched towards the Siamese capital.

The King of Siam then thought it time to prevent the further approach of the enemy. He despatched two forces, one by land under the command of Paya Kuratit, consisting of the following arms:—2,000 guns mounted on carriages and elephants, 300 elephants, and 30,000 men; and the other by water under Bra Karan, consisting of 30,000 men with 2,000 guns on 300 war boats, 300 junks and 300 smaller boats. They took up their stand on the bank of the river Mè-pein about two miles and a quarter to the north-east of Pananpathòk village. The Burmese attacked the Siamese in their position and defeated them, capturing 200 elephants, 500 guns, 300 boats and 1,000 men. Bra Karan, the commander of the forces by water, was taken prisoner in his own war boat. The invaders marched on without halting on the field of battle and encamped at Pananpathòk village, about a mile to the north-east of the Siamese capital, on the 5th of waxing Tabodwè 1,127 (February A. D. 1,765). Keeping the Mè-pein river in the middle, nine big camps were pitched on both banks of it and a rest was given to the men and animals.

When the army under Maha Nawrata, which had encamped at Kanni village, heard of the arrival of the army under Nemyo Thihapate, it moved on to get closer to the Siamese capital and encamped

on the west side of a pagoda built by King Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata, about a mile and a quarter to the north-west of the city.

The King of Siam made all the preparations necessary for the defence of the city. Paya Kuratit, one of the ministers, advised His Majesty to fight the enemy without delay, so as to prevent them from getting a firm foothold on the positions occupied by them. To this, His Majesty replied that even if the Siamese did not try and dislodge the invaders from their positions, they would be compelled to make a hasty retreat when, on the setting in of the rains, the whole country round would be flooded and resemble a vast sea, and they would have no place to encamp. He said there was no need for anxiety and ordered that only those who approached close to the walls of the city should not be allowed to escape. His Siamese Majesty, however, sent out a force under Paya Kuratit, consisting of 500 elephants, 1000 guns mounted on carriages, and 50,000 men, to attack the Burmese forces under Nemyo Thihapate encamped on the eastern face of the city. The Burmese general arranged five regiments containing in all 100 elephants, 1000 horse, and 10,000 men to repel the attack. The Siamese were worsted in the fight and forced to re-enter the city. The Burmese captured over 100 elephants, 500 guns and 1000 men. There were many killed also.

About five days after the first attempt to dislodge the invaders from their position, another attempt was made, this time against the forces on the western face of the city. Two divisions were sent out, one under the command of Bra Than containing 400 elephants, 1000 guns on carriages, and 50,000 picked soldiers, and the other under the command of Paya Tet¹ containing the same number of forces as in the first division. The war elephants were protected with armour of sheets of iron round the temples and on the breast. Three guns were mounted on each of them together with the necessary men to work the guns.

Maha Nawrata, the Burmese general, was informed of the approach of the Siamese, and he arranged to meet them in two divisions. One of these consisted of 20 regiments containing 100 elephants, 500 horse, and 20,000 men, under the following five commanders, each

1. ဘုရားတော်

having four regiments under him :—Nemyo Gônmarat, Satukamani, Thirizaya Kyawzwa, Letya Theikdi Kyaw, and Thiri Yandameik Kyawdin. The other division also consisted of 20 regiments with the same number of men and animals commanded by the following five officers :—Mingyi (minister) Zeyathu, Nanda Bala Kyawdin, Thurein Tazaung, Yaungu Thiri Kyawdin, and Thamein Kyawgaung. The Burmese took up their stand to receive the attack of the Siamese near the pagoda built by King Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata, the two divisions being separated by it. The Siamese altered their tactics, apparently with a view to taking the Burmese by surprise, who expected to be attacked along the whole length of the two divisions. They combined their two divisions and fell upon the twenty regiments commanded by Mingyi Zeyathu and four others, opening the attack by an incessant artillery fire from the 1000 guns mounted on carriages and sending a regular shower of shots and shells. Then before the smoke from the guns had cleared away, Bra Than the Siamese commander drove his 400 elephants against the enemy, and delivered a fierce attack. The governor of Thapanbôn, true to the oath he had taken of allegiance to the Burmese, was first and foremost to receive the elephant charge. He was mounted on an elephant and assisted by twenty elephants disposed on the right and left of him and 500 fusiliers who generally followed close to the elephants. When Bra Than saw the governor of Thapanbôn coming forward, he drove his own elephant towards the governor saying that he had been looking out for him. The two men met in single combat, each on his own elephant. But just as the tusks of the opposing elephants came in contact, a shot from one of the Siamese fusiliers killed the governor of Thapanbôn. The Siamese commander then hurled the weight of his 400 elephants on the Burmese cavalry 500 strong and forced them to fall back. Following up their advantage the whole Siamese army delivered a fierce attack on the twenty regiments under Mingyi Zeyathu and four others, the attack of 800 elephants and the guns on carriages being particularly effective. The Burmese could not withstand the attack and were almost on the point of being put to rout, when their commander-in-chief, hearing an unusual firing of guns and fusils, came out from his camp with 200 elephants, one hundred of which were in front of him and fifty each on his right and left, supported by 3,000 fusiliers. The other division of the Burmese forces, which had up to the present remained idle, saw their commander-in-chief coming forward to the scene of battle.

The sight seemed to have roused them from their lethargy to life and energy, as they hurriedly made a flank movement round the east side of the pagoda, got behind the Siamese army and attacked the rear with vigour. Mingyi Zeyathu and his brother commanders tried their best to rally their wavering forces and make a stand. In this they were at last successful, as the attention of the Siamese was now divided, having to fight the Burmese in the rear as well. They sent a heavy artillery fire in rapid succession into the Siamese elephant corps. The elephants, about 200 in number, unable to stand against this shower of shot and shell, became unmanageable, turned round and stampeded into the ranks of the Siamese army, causing great confusion and creating a panic. The two Siamese commanders found it impossible to rally their forces, the panic being turned into a general rout; they gathered together as many of their scattered forces as they could and re-entered the city. The Burmese captured about 200 elephants, 200 guns and 2,000 men. The Siamese also lost a large number in killed.

The Burmese army returned to their camp. Maha Nawrata, the commander-in-chief, then assembled all the officers of the army and said that the governor of Thapanbôn, in spite of his being a Siamese and therefore fighting against his own countrymen, proved faithful to the oath of allegiance he had taken, by showing great courage and sacrificing his life in single combat with elephants, in the very front of the battle; whereas Mingyi Zeyathu and the four other officers of his division showed want of courage and remissness in the discharge of their duties, causing a reverse to the Burmese arms. He then ordered that the defaulting Mingyi Zeyathu and the four other brigade commanders be forthwith executed. One of the commanders, Tuyin Yan Aung Gyaw by name, pleaded on behalf of the condemned men, by saying that it was not owing to cowardice or to fear of death that they gave way to the enemy, but as they were greatly out-numbered even to the extent of ten to one, they had, according to the exigencies of warfare and adverse circumstances, to fall back to a place where they hoped to fight great odds with some chance of success. He was seconded in this by Nemyo Gônarat, another commander, who was in command of a brigade in the other division which took part in the fight and which, by its timely aid, averted what might have been a disastrous defeat; he said that the success of the day was attributable to the retreat of the

division under the command of Mingyi Zeyathu and his brother commanders. Maha Nawrata requested him to explain his apparent paradox. Nemyo Gōnnarat explained that the division under Mingyi Zeyathu and the four others was on one side of a stream, and as it was greatly out-numbered, they could not possibly order the forces to cross it in the presence of the enemy on the opposite bank ; so the only alternative left was to draw the enemy across by a feint retreat. When the enemy had crossed the stream, the Burmese held their ground and gradually drove them back again to it where, owing to the delay in crossing, their forces got cramped up, and in consequence lost heavily in killed and wounded, especially as at that moment the other division of the Burmese was co-operating in the rear by a flank movement. As Maha Nawrata still remained silent and seemed unrelenting, Satukamani, another brigade commander who was in the fight also, came forward to intercede saying that what his two brother officers had stated was very pertinent, that the fortunes of a battle were as difficult to foretell as it was to know the condition of a chick in an egg, and that even in the fight between the Sakka and the Asuras there were successes and reverses on both sides. He further said that they were close to the Siamese capital and they had yet to accomplish the object of their invasion ; he begged that the defaulters might be pardoned for what had happened and that they be charged to prove their mettle in a subsequent encounter with the enemy. Maha Nawrata replied that, in conducting a war, it made no difference whether there was disparity of forces, or whether an offence was grave or not, or whether it was the first offence or a repeated one, the usual punishment for any default during war was death ; but as it was the wish of three commanders that the offenders be let off that time, he would accordingly pardon them.

The city of Yodaya was so surrounded by rivers and other water-ways that the Burmese found it difficult to approach the city walls. They decided to invest it by pitching camps round it. The forces of the column which had come from the south via Dawè were distributed as follows :—Nemyo Gōnnarat, Mingyi Zeyathu and Kamani Sanda each with seven regiments were stationed on the western face of the city ; Kemayaza, Yanngu Thiri Kyawdin and Minngè Bala each with seven regiments were on the southern face. The northern column which had come by way of Zinnè was disposed of as

follows :—twenty-five¹ regiments under four commanders on the eastern face of the city, and twenty-one regiments under three commanders on the northern face. There were 88 regiments on the four sides of the city. Several attempts were made to assail the city by approaching the walls, but without success, and the reasons given for the failure were that the moat round the city was very deep and wide; that the walls were very high and very strongly built; that a river had to be crossed before any attack could be made; that the guns mounted on the ramparts were numerous and the fire so effective that they could not get even near the walls.

As the rains were approaching the commanders of the brigades and regiments suggested to Maha Nawrata, the commander-in-chief of the Dawè column, who had somehow assumed and been accorded the position of generalissimo of the entire Burmese army, to raise the siege and depart to some high ground, as their then camping ground would soon be like a vast sea. Maha Nawrata disapproved of the suggestion, saying that if they were to do as suggested it would be like letting the fish caught in a net free again. The Siamese, he said, would be able to communicate with the neighbouring towns, take in reinforcements and replenish their food supplies, and they themselves would thus lose all the advantages they already had of the siege. His plan was to seize all the provisions obtainable in the neighbourhood, to cultivate rice with the buffaloes and bullocks seized, to send their horses and elephants to some high grazing ground, and to build forts in places where the water was low and to station outposts between the forts as a means of communication between them. This plan was approved of by all the commanders and acted upon. About five days after they had started work the water rose very high. Many war boats were built, some of them were gilded and some others painted red.

Bra Than, one of the Siamese nobles, volunteered to attack first the Burmese forces encamped on the west side of the city, and when they had been put to rout, to attack the northern column on the north side. His Siamese Majesty rewarded him for his patriotism and supplied him with an army of 85,000 chosen men and a flotilla of 2,000 war boats

1 There is some mistake here in the original. The total of the regiments enumerated under the four commanders amounts to only 21 as follows :—5 regiments each with the Bo of Satpyagòn, the Bo of Thitsein, and Tuyin Thayagyaw, and 6 regiments under Thapanza.

and 500 smaller auxiliary boats. The war boats were armed with big guns. News of the coming of the Siamese was conveyed to Maha Nawrata by the outposts, and he accordingly sent seven brigades consisting of 35,000 men with 700 war boats to meet the Siamese army. The Burmese war boats were also armed with big guns. The two opposing armies came in contact and a fierce engagement ensued. The Siamese also used their heavy artillery on the ramparts of the city to throw shells among the Burmese boats. In the heat of the conflict the boats got mixed up, each boarded the boats of the other and there was a fierce hand to hand fight. Bra Than, the Siamese patriot, exhorted his men by walking up and down the bow and stern of his own boat and encouraging them to fight to their utmost. About twenty Burmese war boats surrounded his boat, and although all the other men in it were either killed or wounded he would not surrender but continued to fight single handed. A chief gunner by the name of Nga San Tun turned the bow of his boat towards Bra Than's with the intention of capturing the Siamese nobleman; the latter did not wait to allow Nga San Tun to board his boat, but jumped on the enemy's boat with a drawn sword in hand. The chief gunner however employed his piston rod to strike a blow effectively and thus disabled the Siamese nobleman before he could get within reach of his sword. Thereafter, the Siamese forces, not seeing their commander in his boat and thinking that he must have been slain, abandoned the fight and re-entered the city. The Burmese pursued the Siamese and captured many of them. According to the Burmese historian they captured on that occasion over 50,000 prisoners, over 1,000 war boats and 500 auxiliary boats. There were many killed also. The prisoners were treated kindly, and they were sent out in several directions to induce the refugees to return to their homes. The headmen or leaders among the prisoners were given the oath of allegiance and made to serve in the Burmese army.

About ten days after the defeat of Bra Than, another nobleman by the name of Paya Kuratit offered to fight the enemy. He brought out a force of 50,000 men with a flotilla of 1,000 war boats and 500 junks fully armed with big guns. His object of attack was the Burmese forces encamped on the east side of the city, being a portion of the column under Nemyo Thiapate. News of the coming of the Siamese was conveyed by the outposts to the commander-in-chief, who ordered

five regiments containing 5,000 men to lie quietly at Uyin village on one bank of the Ma Pein, and another five regiments with 5,000 men on the opposite bank. Then a force of eight regiments containing 10,000 men was detailed to oppose the Siamese on the river with 200 war boats. The Siamese unaware of the enemy forces at Uyin village thought they would be able to defeat easily the enemy on the river, and came on with great confidence. The Burmese gradually withdrew in front of the Siamese from the place where the kheda was built to where they had two forces ambushed on both banks of the river, thus drawing the unsuspecting enemy into a trap. In those days the art of scouting and the importance of the part it plays in warfare could not have been thoroughly understood or sufficiently appreciated, judging by the way in which a force could be so easily ambushed. When the Burmese found that their comrades on land could effectually operate on the flank of the Siamese, they made a firm stand and redoubled their attack which hitherto had only been a feint. The ten regiments on land opened fire when the Siamese forces were well within their grip and sent an abundant shower of shot and shell. Attacked on three sides, the Siamese found it impossible to continue the contest any longer and made a hasty retreat. One hundred war boats together with the officers in charge of each and over 5,000 men were captured.

As all attempts to strike a decisive blow at the enemy had failed, the King of Siam and his nobles, as well as the populace, became anxious about the safety of the capital. Consequently the gates of the city were entirely closed up with brick and mortar and the appliances and men for its defence were redoubled.

When the water had all subsided, His Siamese Majesty, in consultation with his ministers, made a fresh attempt to attack the enemy. A force containing 300 elephants, 500 big guns mounted on carriages and 30,000 men under the command of Paya Taik¹ was sent to attack the Burmese on the west side of the city under Maha Nawrata; and another force of exactly the same formation under Paya Bra Narit was despatched against the enemy on the north-east side of the city under Nemyo Thihapate. Maha Nawrata arranged to meet the Siamese with a force of 120 elephants, 1,200 horse and 12,000 men, and so did Nemyo Thahapate with a force exactly the same in strength. The Siamese were

1. Probably the same as Paya Tet; see foot-note on page 31 ante.

defeated in both directions, on the west side losing over 100 elephants, 200 horse¹ and 1,000 men; and on the north-east losing also about the same.

In spite of these repeated repulses, His Siamese Majesty did not appear to be discouraged in any way. He got many ships and boats laden with men and big guns and other armaments ready to resist any attack of the enemy by water, in which many obstructions, such as submerged dams, piles &c., were laid. Then for the better defence of the city by land, he had fifty forts constructed of brick, each 500 "tas"² in perimeter, built as quickly as possible round the city on the farther side of the moat. These forts were fully manned, provisioned and provided with every kind of armament both for offence and defence, and all manner of obstacles and impediments were constructed on the approaches round the forts.

About this time, there arrived fresh orders from King Sinbyushin to expedite the capture of the Siamese capital and its King. A council of war was held between the two commanders-in-chief and their officers, at which Maha Nawrata recapitulated the signal successes achieved by the Burmese and the severe losses suffered by the Siamese in every encounter either by land or by water, and said that in spite of such losses the Siamese Monarch seemed to be fully determined to make a stand to the last, as evidenced by the construction of fifty forts round the city. He said they would have to emulate the example of the Embryo Buddha Mahawthata (Mahosathā) who by tunnelling into the city of Pyinsalayit (Pañcālaraj) was able to carry away the princess Pyinsala Sandi (Pañcāla Candi). He recommended the construction of rival forts and the digging of tunnels into the city. Nemyo Thihapate and the other officers all approved of the recommendation, and immediate steps were taken to carry it into effect. The following forts were accordingly constructed:—To the north-east of the city of Yodaya and at a distance of 400 "tas" from it, Nemyo Thihapate, the commander-in-chief of the Zimmè column, built his fort 320 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high; to the north-west of the city Shwedaung Sithu built his fort 200 "tas"

1. The presence of cavalry in the Siamese forces was not mentioned before; evidently a lapse of memory on the part of the Burmese historian.

2. "Ta" is a Burmese measure of length and is seven cubit long; a cubit is about 20 inches (English).

in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the east of Shwedaung Sithu's fort, Pônnya Kyawdin built his fort 150 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the east of the last named fort and on the east bank of a river which flowed from the city, the Chaung-U Bo built his fort 150 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the east of the last named fort, Kyawgaung Kyawthu converted the existing elephant kheda into a fort 300 "tas" in perimeter and eight cubits high ; the five forts mentioned above were on the north side of the city. To the south-east of the kheda fort, Girinara built his fort 150 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the south of Girinara's fort, Tuyin Yamagyaw built his fort 170 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the south of the last named fort, Tuyin Yangyaw built his fort 170 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the south of the last named, Thiri Thaya-kyawzwa built his fort 170 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the south of the last named, Thiri Yazathingyan built his fort 300 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; the five forts just mentioned were on the east side of the city. To the south-east of the city, Shwedaung Kyawzwa built his fort 150 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the west of Shwedaung Kyawzwa's fort, Teza Bala Kyaw built his fort 170 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the west of the last named fort, Theikdi Kyawthu built his fort 200 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the west of the last named, Mingyi Zeyathu built his fort on the east bank of the Bangauk river, 200 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high. Across this Bangauk river which flowed into the city, iron chains were stretched to prevent the passage of ships, war boats and other vessels either way, into the city or out of it. On the west bank of this river and opposite Mingyi Zeyathu's fort, Nanda Udein Kyawdin built his fort 150 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the west of Nanda Udein Kyawdin's fort, Nanda Bala Kyawdin built his fort 150 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the west of the last named fort, Let-wè Kyawzwa built his fort 170 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the west of the last named, Yanngu Thiri Kyawdin built his fort 170 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high. To the south-west corner of the city, Nandameik Sithu built his fort 300 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high. There were altogether nine forts on the south side commencing with the fort built by Shwedaung Kyawzwa and ending with that built by Nandameik Sithu. To the north of Nandameik Sithu's fort, Shwedaung Let-wè Nawrata built his fort 170

"tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the north of Shwedaung Let-wè Nawrata's fort, Let-ya Bala built his fort 170 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the north of the last named fort, Thiri Yandameik Kyawdin built his fort 180 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the north of the last named, Theikdi Kyawdin built his fort 170 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the north of the last named, Thiha Damayat built his fort 200 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; to the north of the last named, Bala Pyanchi built his fort 200 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high ; the six forts just mentioned were on the west side of the city. All the forts mentioned above, with the exception of that built by Nemyo Thihapate, were built only a short distance from the moat of the city. To the north-west of the city and at a distance of about 500 "tas" from it, Satukamani built his fort 300 "tas" in perimeter and seven cubits high, surrounding the pagoda built by King Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata ; to the west of the last named fort and at a distance of about 1,000 "tas" from it, Maha Nawrata, the commander-in-chief of the Dawè column, built his fort 500 "tas" in perimeter and nine cubits high and established his headquarters. There were twenty-seven forts¹ of brick built by the Burmese surrounding the city of Yodaya, and each was provided with gates, and raised platforms on which heavy artillery were mounted and a shower of shot and shell sent into the city day and night. Many of these shells killed and wounded the people carrying food to the men on duty on the ramparts of the walls of the city and forts.

About this time the people of Thuwunkalauk, Peikthalauk, Thaukkatè, Banna, and other provincial towns raised an army of 200 elephants, 2,000 horse and 20,000 men and marched towards Yodaya with

1. It might be possible to identify some of these forts. The Siamese History says-ฝ่าย เนเมียว แม่ทัพ ค่ายโพธิ์สามต้น จึงให้พล พม่า เข้ามา คุกเพลิง เผา ปราสาท ที่ พเนียด นั้น เสีย แล้ว ให้ตั้ง ค่าย ลงที่ พเนียด แด วัดพระเจดีย์ แดง วัด สามพิหาร วัด มรฎป วัด กระโจน วัดนางชี วัด นาง ปลัด วัด ศรี โพธิ์ ให้ปลุก ทอรับ เขาบัน ไทใหญ่ น้อย ขึ้นยิง เข้า มา ใน กรุง ทุกๆ ค่าย. See พระราชพงษาวดาร เล่ม ๒ หน้า ๓๐๐. Also at วัด กระชาย วัด พลับพลาไชย วัดเคา วัด สุเรนทร์ วัดแดง, see *ibid* page 294.

the intention of attacking the Burmese. When they reached a village called Kundaw, about ten miles to the north of the capital, the commanders-in-chief received information of their coming. A draft of 100 elephants, 200 horse, and 3,000 men from the Zimmè column under the command of Thiri Yazathingyan, and another of the same strength from the Dawè column under the command of Thiri Nanda Kyawdin, were sent to meet this auxiliary Siamese force coming to relieve the besieged. They marched in two columns, the former on the east and the latter on the west. When they got near Kundaw, they chose about 1,000 men from among those Siamese on the way who had volunteered to serve with the Burmese army, and forming a regiment of them, appointed one Dewa Setkathu to the command of it. This Siamese contingent was placed in the front, followed by the Burmese forces at a short distance behind and on the right and left of it. The northern Siamese auxiliary first got sight of the Siamese contingent under Dewa Setkathu, and mistook it for another friendly force from some other Siamese town, which had come to join them. In consequence, they took no notice of the coming enemy, who fell upon them unawares and completely routed them. The Burmese captured about 100 elephants, 200 horse, and 1,000 men; many were left dead, and the rest fled into the neighbouring forests and valleys. The Burmese then returned to the main besieging army.

His Siamese Majesty then suggested that they should arm the ships, war boats, and other vessels which they had collected in Bangauk¹ river and deliver a crushing blow on the forts on the south of the city; when they had routed the enemy on the south side, then to land the men and arms and, dividing into two columns, attack the forts on the east and west side of the city. This suggestion was approved of by the princes and nobles. Accordingly, 10 ships, 500 ship's auxiliary boats, and 1,000 war boats were adequately armed with big guns and fully manned with Kala Panthes,² Chinese, Binga, Bashu,³ and Siamese, numbering over 60,000 men. They were placed under the command of four officers, namely, Paya Bala Dewa,⁴ Paya Kuratit, Paya Barabat, and Paya Ramaya.⁵

1. סמחא 2. Portuguese. 3. Malays.

4. פאבאלדא 5. פאראמא ?

Judging at the present day without knowledge of the special and local circumstances prevailing at that time, which might fully justify the above plan of attack, it appears that the plan showed want of generalship and lack of knowledge of strategy, because such an attack as contemplated would place the Siamese at a great disadvantage. In the first place, their enemies were on dry land and protected by forts; in the second, although the river might be very wide, still it could not possibly afford sufficient room for the free and easy movement of a large number of vessels, some of which, owing to their big size, would certainly be difficult to manage properly; and thirdly, they would have to face not only the artificial force of shot, shell, and other offensive weapons, but also to contend with the natural force of the element in which they were, such as adverse currents, death from drowning, etc.

This big flotilla went down the Bangauk river only to meet a fate which those in command had not foreseen. The Burmese had two forts commanding the river, one on the east bank where Mingyi Zeyathu and his troops were, and the other on the west bank held by Nanda Udein Kyawdin. Moreover, they had laid across the river, near where the two forts were, several iron chains to obstruct the navigation of the river. When the Siamese flotilla arrived at this point they found their passage barred by the iron chains, with the natural result that the vessels were crowded together at the point of obstruction. The two forts on the east and west banks of the river then began their artillery practice on the crowded and cramped up flotilla with dire results. Theikdi Kyawthu, Teza Bala Kyaw, and Shwedaung Kyawzwa, who were in forts to the east of Mingyi Zeyathu's fort, brought out their troops to co-operate, and so did Bala Nanda Kyawdin, Letwè Kyawzwa, Yanngu Thiri Kyawdin, and Nandameik Sithu who occupied forts to the west of Nanda Udein Kyawdin's. Over a thousand big guns mounted on carriages were employed by the co-operating forces to shell the hapless flotilla, which had more than enough to do to fight the current of the river in its attempt to withdraw. Confusion reigned supreme among this huge collection of boats; some of them were thrown athwart the river, hundreds ran foul of each other, and many were broken and sunk together with their crews. The four commanders made their escape hastily, with only about twenty war boats. The Burmese captured the whole of the ten ships, over 800

ship's auxiliary boats, 500 war boats, and 1,000 men; and there were many hundreds of men drowned.

Soon after the defeat of the Siamese on the river, the rice crop of the previous rains must have been ready for harvesting. The two commanders-in-chief and their officers arranged to gather in the rice crop, the greater part of which had been cultivated by the Burmese themselves. Then to beguile the men and to keep up their spirits, they were allowed to amuse themselves with music, dancing, and theatrical performances. With a view to deceiving the Siamese into believing that fresh reinforcements of Burmese were arriving constantly, the two commanders-in-chief sent out, in the darkness of the night, detachments of elephants, horse, and men to some distance back, enjoining them to make no noise whatever beyond what was unavoidable, and to return to camp in broad daylight with banners flying and bands playing. To make the deception look as real as possible, additional forts were built, with sheds erected in them, and a few men were detailed to watch these forts and set them aglow with camp fires at night. The Siamese seemed to have been taken in by this simple means of deception.

His Siamese Majesty then consulted the princes and nobles how best to compel the Burmese to raise the siege, as from appearances, he said, they seemed to be determined to continue the investment even for ten years or more. Paya Kuratit, one of the nobles, said that the present investing forces, though commanded only by officers, had been able to stop the food supplies of the city so effectually that the people were finding themselves hard pressed for food; and should the King of Burma himself arrive on the scene with reinforcements, the position of the besieged would be hopeless. Moreover, he said, the Burmese had taken into their forts ample supplies of food, and as the food stuffs available in the neighbouring towns and villages were completely at their mercy, it was very unlikely that they would raise the siege and return without having captured the city. He recommended the sending of a message offering to acknowledge the suzerainty of Burma and to undertake to send annual tribute of treasure, elephants, and ponies, with a view to inducing the Burmese commanders to raise the siege; and when they did so, the Siamese could take whatever steps they thought advisable. This recommendation was approved of by His Siamese Majesty, princes, and nobles, and a

letter to the following effect was sent:—That there had been peace and quiet between Siam and Burma for many generations and the tribute of elephants and horses and presents had been sent uninterruptedly, but of recent years, owing to the revolt of the Talaings, the payment of tribute had been interrupted. That henceforth the usual tribute would be sent. This letter addressed to the ministers of state was taken to the Burmese camp by four nobles all dressed in white. They were taken to Maha Nawrata, where the letter was translated into Burmese in the presence of the other officers. The two commanders-in-chief, in consultation with the other officers, sent the following reply:—That if the chances of success in this war between the two countries were contrasted, it would be like weighing in a delicate balance a "Chin-ywe"¹ weight in one scale with a viss² weight in the other. Such being the case, if it were the real intention of the Siamese to submit and pay the usual tribute of royal children, elephants, and horses, they should, as evidence of their bona fides, hand over to the Burmese the two famous guns they had in the city. If, on the other hand, the Siamese still desired to compare the personal prowess of individual soldiers, they should send out a thousand picked men and the Burmese would capture them all with only a hundred men; or if they wished to contend in open battle, they should send out a force of 10,000 picked soldiers and the Burmese would put them to rout with only a thousand men. This reply was sent back with the four Siamese who had brought the Siamese letter.

About five days after this fruitless attempt of the Siamese to hoodwink the Burmese generals, one of them, Maha Nawrata, died on account of illness, and Nemyo Thihapate assumed command of the Dawè column also. One Zeya Nara was sent back to report the death of Maha Nawrata to His Majesty of Burma. The report also mentioned the fact that Nemyo Thihapate had assumed command of both the columns, that the army, after having captured all the principal towns, was besieging the capital, and that, as the besieged were being reduced to straitened circumstances, Nemyo Thihapate expected shortly to capture the capital and the King of Yodaya. Zeya Nara arrived at the Burmese capital on the 10th of waxing Pyatho 1128 (January A. D. 1767). On learning the state of affairs in Yodaya,

1. The seed of *abrus precatorius*

2. A standard measure of weight in Burma equal to 100 ticals or about $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. avoirdupois; the ratio of a Chin-ywe to a viss is 1 : 12,800.

King Sinbyushin announced that it was his intention to lead an army to China, and therefore ordered the capture of Yodaya to be hastened as much as possible; adding that, when captured, the whole city should be razed to the ground, and the King and the royal family brought to Burma. He also ordered that the honours usually paid at the obsequies of a high minister of state should be paid at the obsequies of Maha Nawrata. With these orders, those who brought the report from Yodaya were sent back without delay. King Sinbyushin then appointed Minyè Min-hla Uzana, the governor of Môtama, to the command of the Dawè column. He also sent to the newly appointed commander-in-chief, a force of 3,000 men with Thiri Yandameik Kyawdin, who was to act as second in command to him. With this force were sent 300 "paso" (cloth worn by the Burmese round the loins) of foreign manufacture and 500 silver medals to be given to those who had distinguished themselves in the operations against Yodaya. This small force left Ava on the 5th of waxing Tabodwè 1128 (February 1767), and was ordered to march as quickly as possible to the besieged city. On the arrival of Zeya Nara with orders from His Burman Majesty, the funeral rites of Maha Nawrata were performed with high honours.

The Burmese general then devised another plan to bring about the fall of the Siamese capital. He arranged to dig five tunnels into the city, and in order to be able to dispose of the excavated earth without attracting the attention of the besieged, he had three forts built on the northern face of the city, right up to the edge of the moat, each having a perimeter of 800 "tas" and a height of 10 cubits. These forts were not far from the main river into which the earth was probably thrown. The Bo (captain or leader) of Satpyagôn¹, the Bo of Thitsein,² and Thado Mindin, each with 2,000 men, were detailed to defend a fort each of these three new forts. Of the five tunnels, two of them stopped just beneath the base of the city wall, and for a length of about 100 "tas" under it running due east and west, the earth was removed, and wooden props of sizes between thirty and forty inches in girth were planted to support the wooden beams, by

1. ฉิม กุง โม่? See พระราชพงษาวดาร เล่ม ๒. page 275.

2. จิก สิม โม่? See พระราชพงษาวดาร เล่ม ๒. page 273.

which means the walls of the city were kept in position. The remaining three tunnels were dug below the base of the wall, and then upwards on the inner side of the wall, leaving a layer of earth about two feet thick.

About this time the besieged began to feel the effects of a close and prolonged investment. Food supplies were running short, especially as, before the commencement of the siege, the population in the city had been largely increased by reinforcements and refugees from the neighbouring towns. Every day, famished Siamese arrived in the Burmese camp, driven by hunger to leave the city and seek relief from suffering in the hands of their adversaries. Then Bra Mundari,¹ the brother of one of the concubines of the King, offered to make an effort with the best troops, elephants, horses, and arms. The offer was accepted by all, the Sovereign, the princes, and the nobles, and a specially chosen force of 500 elephants and 50,000 men was equipped and sent out to fight the enemy on the north of the city. The first assault was made on the three forts built to facilitate the digging of the five tunnels. After a preliminary bombardment, the Siamese stormed the forts. In the words of the Burmese historian, they swarmed round the forts like bees, some digging the base of the walls, some climbing the walls with ladders. The defenders on the ramparts of the forts mowed down everyone who attempted to reach the top and the execution thus done was enormous; but owing to the exhortations of Bra Mundari, the Siamese seemed to be heedless of death and, being solely intent on gaining the top of the walls, they stepped on the corpses of their comrades in their attempts to reach the top. Despite the vigorous resistance, about a thousand Siamese got inside the walls and there was a fierce hand to hand fight. It seems as if the three forts were taken by the Siamese, although the Burmese historian did not admit it. Just at this moment, Shwe-daung Sithu, Pönya Kyawdin, Kyawgaung Kyawthu, and the Bo of Chaung-U came, with a force of 200 elephants 1,000 horse, and 10,000 men, to the assistance of the forts attacked. The Siamese found they could not stand the attack in the front as well as in the rear, and re-entered the city with all the men they were able to withdraw. Of the 1,000 Siamese who succeeded in entering the forts, about 800 were

1. မုတ္တမာရာ

killed in the hand to hand encounter and about 200 were captured alive. The Burmese forces who came to assist their comrades also captured about 100 elephants, 200 horses, and 1,000 men. Bra Mundari, the commander, escaped capture owing to the swiftness of his elephant.

Finding that every attempt against the enemy had always resulted in failure, the King of Siam ordered that the great gun² called Dwarawadi, which had been regarded from ancient times as the guardian of the city, should, after the customary propitiatory offerings had been made to the presiding spirit, be brought out from the building where it had been carefully kept, mounted on the northern wall of the city, and fired against the enemy. He also ordered that all the inhabitants of the city, both men and women, young and old, should, with suitable offerings, propitiate the guardian spirits of the city, the country, and the weapons. In compliance with this royal command, the great gun was brought out with due ceremony and, with the help of mechanical appliances, raised and mounted on the northern wall of the city and directed against Nemyo Thihapate's camp. It was then loaded with an ample charge of powder and all kinds of shot, such as bar-shot, chain-shot, shrapnel, elongated bullets, etc., and fired with a fuse. The fuse burned all right and so did the priming powder, but the charge in the gun failed to ignite. Although repeatedly tried, the gun failed to discharge its load of shot. So the charge was taken out to discover the cause, and to the amazement of the officers and men, it was found that the powder had dissolved and water trickled down the mouth of the gun. According to the Burmese historian, who was evidently endowed with a faculty far more imaginative, than historical, the Siamese officers were alleged to have exclaimed that when even the great guardian gun of the city, a thing inanimate, had gone over the side of the King of Ava, they, who were animate beings, could not but submit. This incident, if true, probably the result of bad gun-powder coming in contact with the cold metal in

1. The presence of cavalry among the forces brought out by Bra Mundari was not mentioned before

2. The Siamese history mentions two guns by name (1) ^{๒๕}ปืนพระยา, ^{๒๖}ปืนพระยา, (2) ^{๒๗}ปืนพระยา. Vide ^{๒๘}ปืนพระยาพระยาพระยา ^{๒๙}ปืนพระยา ^{๓๐}ปืนพระยา ^{๓๑}ปืนพระยา ^{๓๒}ปืนพระยา ^{๓๓}ปืนพระยา ^{๓๔}ปืนพระยา ^{๓๕}ปืนพระยา ^{๓๖}ปืนพระยา ^{๓๗}ปืนพระยา ^{๓๘}ปืนพระยา ^{๓๙}ปืนพระยา ^{๔๐}ปืนพระยา ^{๔๑}ปืนพระยา ^{๔๒}ปืนพระยา ^{๔๓}ปืนพระยา ^{๔๔}ปืนพระยา ^{๔๕}ปืนพระยา ^{๔๖}ปืนพระยา ^{๔๗}ปืนพระยา ^{๔๘}ปืนพระยา ^{๔๙}ปืนพระยา ^{๕๐}ปืนพระยา ^{๕๑}ปืนพระยา ^{๕๒}ปืนพระยา ^{๕๓}ปืนพระยา ^{๕๔}ปืนพระยา ^{๕๕}ปืนพระยา ^{๕๖}ปืนพระยา ^{๕๗}ปืนพระยา ^{๕๘}ปืนพระยา ^{๕๙}ปืนพระยา ^{๖๐}ปืนพระยา ^{๖๑}ปืนพระยา ^{๖๒}ปืนพระยา ^{๖๓}ปืนพระยา ^{๖๔}ปืนพระยา ^{๖๕}ปืนพระยา ^{๖๖}ปืนพระยา ^{๖๗}ปืนพระยา ^{๖๘}ปืนพระยา ^{๖๙}ปืนพระยา ^{๗๐}ปืนพระยา ^{๗๑}ปืนพระยา ^{๗๒}ปืนพระยา ^{๗๓}ปืนพระยา ^{๗๔}ปืนพระยา ^{๗๕}ปืนพระยา ^{๗๖}ปืนพระยา ^{๗๗}ปืนพระยา ^{๗๘}ปืนพระยา ^{๗๙}ปืนพระยา ^{๘๐}ปืนพระยา ^{๘๑}ปืนพระยา ^{๘๒}ปืนพระยา ^{๘๓}ปืนพระยา ^{๘๔}ปืนพระยา ^{๘๕}ปืนพระยา ^{๘๖}ปืนพระยา ^{๘๗}ปืนพระยา ^{๘๘}ปืนพระยา ^{๘๙}ปืนพระยา ^{๙๐}ปืนพระยา ^{๙๑}ปืนพระยา ^{๙๒}ปืนพระยา ^{๙๓}ปืนพระยา ^{๙๔}ปืนพระยา ^{๙๕}ปืนพระยา ^{๙๖}ปืนพระยา ^{๙๗}ปืนพระยา ^{๙๘}ปืนพระยา ^{๙๙}ปืนพระยา ^{๑๐๐}ปืนพระยา.

very damp weather, played so strongly on the superstition of the officers, both military and civil, that they beseeched their Sovereign to submit, bringing forward the following reasons:—that owing to the siege being prolonged to over two years, both the civil and military population in the city had been suffering from a scarcity of food; and as some of them had left the city stealthily and entered the camps of the Burmese, to find relief from the pangs of hunger, the enemy must have learnt the straitened circumstances of the besieged; that knowing the condition in the city, the enemy were showing greater activity in raising earthen mounds, mounting guns on them, and keeping up a continual bombardment; that owing to the arrival of reinforcements almost daily, the enemy were in high spirits; that repeated attempts to fire the great guardian gun of the city had failed, the gun-powder obstinately refusing to catch fire; that for several days, the besieged had been subsisting on greatly reduced rations, ten to twenty men having to live on a "Salè"¹ of rice; that in about ten days more, they would scarcely have sufficient strength to hold their arms; and that a peaceful surrender, before a forcible entry by the enemy, would be the means of saving the population. To this appeal, His Siamese Majesty was, however, obdurate, remarking that even if the enemy were to build iron forts with iron walls, leave alone small brick forts, and continue the siege ever so long, the city honoured with the name of Dwarawadi was impregnable; that the city being well provided with all kinds of defensive works and ably supported by fifty auxiliary forts, the enemy forces could not possibly harm the inhabitants of the city, as they were not endowed with the power of flight. He ordered that the defence should not be relaxed, and the defenders should be exhorted to be always on the alert.

Nemyo Thihapate obtained definite information of the condition of the besieged from the refugees from the city arriving at the Burmese camp. He then called a meeting of the military officers and explained to them in detail how matters stood. He said that it evidently was the intention of the King of Siam to defend the city to the last, notwithstanding the fact that the people in it were almost starving; to storm the city would entail great loss of their men, as the moats were broad and deep, and the city was of large extent and very

1. A "Salè" is 1/64th part of a basket of 8 gallons capacity, equal to about one "Thanan" of Siamese measure.

strongly built; the heavy guns mounted on the ramparts of the city and of the fifty auxiliary forts were numerous and effective. He suggested that they should set up a big fire in the two tunnels where they had undermined the base of the walls and kept the walls in their position by means of wooden supports. This suggestion having been approved of by the officers, orders were sent to all the regiments and camps to have elephants, horse, and men ready for action. Then with firewood and other inflammable materials, the wooden posts and beams supporting the base of the walls in the tunnels were set fire to. Owing to the heat cracks were formed in the overlying ground; and the posts supporting the wall having been burnt away, about a hundred "tas" of the wall collapsed. The Burmese forces then made a general rush, some entered the city through the breach thus caused, some scaled the walls with ladders and got inside, while others also made their entry by the three tunnels leading into the city. The Siamese nobles tried their best to exhort the defenders to fight with all their might; but owing to their having been on reduced rations for a considerable time, the resistance was feeble and ineffectual. As soon as the Burmese gained a footing in the city they set fire to the houses, public buildings, monasteries, and other religious edifices. The Burmese soldiery seized men, women, gold, silver, jewels, etc., and confusion and disorder reigned supreme. The King of Siam, together with his Queen and children, left the palace in disguise by the western gate, probably with the intention of evading capture. But in the general confusion that prevailed, his identity was not recognized, and he was killed by a random shot. Thus died Kyauk-bwa Ekadat,¹ who assumed the regal title of Ekadathayaza (Ekādasarājā), and the capital of Yodaya² fell into the hands of the Burmese on Thursday the 11th of waxing Tagu 1129 (April A. D. 1767).

The first batch of Burmese soldiers who entered the palace found Bra-ôn-saw San, a brother of the King, in close confinement with an iron ring round his neck. He was removed from the place of his confinement and kept under guard. The Burmese officers made a

1. เจ้าฟ้าเอกทัศ Vide พระราชพงษาวดารฉบับ ๒ หน้า ๓๘

2. The Burmese historian called the country Yawnaka Ayókza (Yonaka Ayujjha) and the capital Tilawka-dwarawadi (Tiloka dvārāvati) which is, I presume, the nearest Burmese transliteration of กรุงเทพมหานคร

careful search for His Siamese Majesty, but till dawn the following day they could not find him. They then removed the iron ring from Bra-ôn-saw San's neck and sent him round under a strong guard to make a thorough search both inside and outside the city. His Majesty's body¹ was at last found at the western gate of the city. Honours befitting a king were paid to the royal remains, and the customary funeral obsequies were performed.

A full enquiry was then made about the members of the royal family, and the following, according to the Hmannan history, were found :—Of the queens, Min Mauk, Man Min, Mun Thi² and Mun Thila³ were the chief. There were eight hundred and sixty-nine concubines, including those who were honoured with the titles of Bra-ôn and Bra-san. Of the brothers, there was one who had been king at one time ; and there were also Thu-u Padônmayaza,⁴ Kya-wa-an-sut, Bra-ôn-saw Taraik, Bra-ôn-saw Than, Bra-ôn-saw Neramun, Bra-ôn-saw Kun, Bra-ôn-saw Sarit, Bra-ôn-saw Bunara, Bra-ôn-saw Thin, Bra-ôn-saw Kun-meik, and Bra-ôn-saw Thu-chan, in all twelve. Of the sisters, the history says there were fourteen, but enumerates only thirteen, namely :—(1) Saw-bwa Paramat, (2) Saw-bwa Thurapôn,⁵ (3) Saw-bwa Einda-Thudawadi,⁶ (4) Saw-bwa Môn-Kwè, (5) Saw-bwa Kethun,⁷ (6) Saw-ôn Kra-Un, (7) Saw-bwa Kra-ut, (8) Hôn-saw Lanpu, (9) Hôn-saw Pa-Pwet, (10) Hôn-saw Krôn-kun, (11) Hôn-saw Than-an, (12) Hôn-saw Thôn-Kri, and (13) Hôn-saw Ein. There were three sons, Bra-ôn-saw Papaik, Bra-ôn-saw Thutin, and Bra-ôn-saw Thin, and four daughters, Ôn-saw Pabi, Saw-bwa Nwè,⁸ Thapan-bwin princess,⁹ and Saw Lutkra. There were fourteen grandsons, namely, Mun Chipi, Mun Sa, Mun Thuwati, Mun Thukri, Mun Thu-ngè,¹⁰ Mun Thu-lat,¹¹ Mun Thu Karun, Mun Thun-bu, Mun Thu-chun, Mun Thun Thin, Mun Marun,

1. The Siamese history says that the King escaped in the confusion, but died subsequently of starvation. See พระราชพงษาวดาร ฉบับ ๒ หน้า ๓๐๒ and

ฉบับ ๓ หน้า ๑๖ 2. หมิ่นศรี? 3. หมิ่นด้า? 4. ปทุมมวราช?

5. เจ้าฟ้าอุทัยพงษ์? 6. เจ้าฟ้าอินทสุธาดิ? 7. เจ้าฟ้าเกษร?

8. เจ้าฟ้าน้อย? 9. เจ้าหญิง ดอกระเดื่อ. "Thapan-bwin" is Burmese for ดอกระเดื่อ. 10. "Ngè" is the Burmese word for young or younger.

11. "Lat" is the Burmese word for middle or second of three brothers or sisters.

Mun Thu-pan, Mun Ôttaman, and Mun Paik-tun, and fourteen grand-daughters, namely, Mun Manla, Mun Sara, Mun Zawet, Mun Un-paing, Mun Akun, Mun Apan, Mun Than, Mun Malaik, Mun Thurawut, Mun Sata, Mun Mwin, Mun Thit, Saw Thi, and Saw Tan. Of the children of the King's elder brother there were four, two sons, Bra-ôn-saw Tan and Bra-ôn-saw Min, and two daughters, namely,—Saw Dara¹ and Saw Shi. There were besides over 2,000 members who belonged to the royal family. Many noblemen were also found in the capital, of whom the following were the principal ones, namely—Ministers of the first rank, Paya Palakan,² Paya Bura; Ministers of the second rank, Paya Mun-thi, Paya Mun-thabo-taik; Minister of the Royal Treasury, Paya Barabat; Minister of the Royal Granaries, Paya Baladepa³; Minister in charge of the capital, Paya Ramaya⁴; Minister in charge of arms and ammunition, Lôn⁵ Hurataik.

Instructions were issued to every regiment⁶ that it should celebrate the great event by having music and dancing in the style of the Burmese, Talaing, Tavoyan, Tenasserim people, Shan, Yun, Linzin, and Siamese.

In the capital the Burmese found persons engaged in the following trades and professions, namely—musicians and dancers, carpenters, carvers, turners, black-smiths, gold and silver smiths, copper-smiths and braziers, masons, decorators with natural and artificial flowers, painters both in ordinary colours and illuminated with gold and bright material, workers of marquetry, lapidaries, barbers, persons skilled in incantations, charms, and magic; persons skilled in the cure of the diseases of elephants and ponies; breakers and trainers of ponies; weavers and workers of gold and silver threads; and persons skilled in the culinary art. There were also found the Tripitaka and treatises on astrology and medicine.

1. เจ้าดาราร

2. พระยาพระคลัง ?

3. พระยาพลเทพ ?

4. พระยาบมบราช ?

5. หลวง

6. Here the total number of regiments is given as 129, of which the Dawe column contained 58, including the reinforcements, and the Zimè column 71, including reinforcements. But it is hard to reconcile this number with the numbers given in the earlier part of the narrative.

A large quantity of royal treasure was found, in the shape of utensils set in diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and nine kinds of gems: also gold cups, bowls, trays used by the royalty; and gold and silver bullion and precious gems; cloths worked in silver and gold, and various other kinds of cloths the product of Kyin, Sein, and Gyun countries; seven richly gilt howdahs used by His Siamese Majesty.

Of military stores and appliances, there were found 2,000 war boats and 100 ships; 1,000 fusils inlaid with gold and silver tracery and over 10,000 ordinary fusils without any inlaid work; the famous twin big guns cast in bronze; and guns for dismantling city walls, guns for repelling enemy attacks, guns embossed with figures of dragons and sea monsters, guns constructed for mounting on carriages, at the bow of war boats, and on elephants, and breech loading guns, in all 3,550, some of which were cast in copper or bronze and some made of iron; over 50,000 shells of various sizes weighing from one viss to fifteen, twenty, and thirty viss and manufactured in China, Yun country, Linzin, Kala¹ country, and Yodaya; big iron shells, each containing in it fifty to sixty shots; elongated iron shells covered with wire netting, each of which carried within it from 100 to 200 shots and, on bursting, cast its contents far and wide; chain-shots, bar-shots, fuses, etc. The Burmese historian said that the quantity found in the arsenals was innumerable. Among these military stores only the best and the curious were chosen and taken; of the rest, the greater portion was thrown into the sea or destroyed. Of the guns, one² measuring twenty cubits in length and two cubits at the mouth, and those taking in charges varying from 30 to 40 viss weight were taken out and thrown into the sea; other guns were destroyed by blasting with gun-powder.

In the midst of their enjoyment in celebration of the conquest of the country of Yawnaka Ayōkza (Yonaka Ayujjha) by the capture of Yodaya, the capital, the commander-in-chief Nemyo Thihapate said to his officers, that news had been received that

1. A foreigner, either European or Indian.

2. The Siamese history mentioned one big gun ^N **ปืนใหญ่** as being destroyed at **วัดใหม่**; see **พงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์** หน้า ๓๐๔.

the Chinese Emperor had sent a vast army under the command of his brothers, sons, and sons-in-law to invade Burma; and that their brother generals and officers at the capital were distinguishing themselves and winning royal favour by successfully repelling the invasion, with great loss to the Chinese including their commander-in-chief. He added that as they had most successfully accomplished their mission by the capture of the Siamese capital, together with her king and royal family, it behoved them to return as quickly as possible, after demolishing the city, mounts, and all defensive and offensive works, as commanded by their Sovereign, so that they might be in time to take part in the fighting against the Chinese and share the honours of war in that field also.

Having decided to return, a distribution of prisoners of war was made as follows:—To each "Tat-hmu¹" was given 100 families; to each "Sitkè" 75 families; to each "Nakan" 50 families; to each "Tat-ye" 5 families; and each soldier 2 families. There were 406 officers of the ranks just mentioned in the 58 regiments which started from the capital, and which composed the Zimmè and Dawè columns. The total number of families thus distributed and taken away was given by the Burmese historian as 106,100.²

1. The organization of the Burmese army was simple enough. A group of 10 soldiers (called "lét-net-kaing" or holder of arms) was controlled by an "Akyat," corresponding to a non-commissioned officer; 10 of these groups were in the charge of a "Tat-hmu" (chief of a company), who corresponded to a captain; and ten of these companies formed a regiment ("tat" in Burmese) commanded by a "Bo," who corresponded to a colonel. Then to each regiment were attached 2 "Sitkè" who corresponded to subalterns when attached to a regiment, and to staff officers or seconds in command when attached to an army corps or division; 2 "Nakan," who were officers who transmitted the commanding officer's orders; and 2 "Tat-ye" or "Tat-saye" who were regimental clerks. Then above all the "Bos" was the "Bo-gyôk," who corresponded to a general commanding the whole forces or only a division.

2. It is incredible that such a large number of prisoners of war was taken away by the Burmese, because even calculating at the modest average of three persons to a family, the number of men, women, and children taken away would amount to 318,300 souls. Burmese historians of old were not very careful when figures were concerned, and they always had a tendency, almost amounting to a habit, to err on the side of over-estimation. Then again, according to the Siamese history about 200,000 Siamese died during the two years' invasion of the Burmese, including those killed in the fighting and those

who died of disease and starvation. (Vide page 305, end of vol II of พระราชพงษาวดาร ฉบับพระราชหัดถ์เลขา.) Therefore, when the capital fell into the

The city was then destroyed, and the Burmese forces left the Siamese capital on the 9th of waxing Nayôn 1129 (June, A. D. 1767) marching in the direction of Ta-yaik. The Hmannan history does not mention of any one being appointed to govern the newly conquered country or of any force being left to occupy the territory acquired.¹ As about that time the Chinese had already entered Burmese

hands of the Burmese, there could not possibly have been a very large population left in the city. The Siamese history admits that about 80,000 prisoners of war, including nobles and common people, both men and women, were taken away, which figure is more reasonable and is perhaps about the correct number.

(See **พจนานุกรมศัพท์** vol. II page 303). If the distribution of prisoners were made in the manner stated here, it is more than likely that the Burmese officers and soldiery allowed or induced the prisoners to ransom themselves by payment in silver, gold, jewellery, and other easily portable property, as such an arrangement would be to the advantage of both. If so, the distribution recorded was only intended to show the relative shares of the officers and men, and did not mean that prisoners as distributed were actually taken away to Burma.

To the best of my knowledge there is not, at the present day, a single descendant of the Siamese, who were then compelled to make a home in Burma, who retains any trace of his ancestry in speech, manners, customs, or traditional beliefs. It is strange that so large a community as the Siamese then were, amounting at least to about 20,000 persons, should have entirely lost their national characteristics within a space of about 14 decades. It is otherwise with the Portuguese, Mahommedan, and Manipuri prisoners of war, who, up to the present day, retain a few characteristic beliefs and traditions of their ancestors. One probable explanation of this total disappearance of national and racial characteristics within a period of about six generations, is the identity of religion and the similarity of beliefs and notions outside the teaching of religion. The Burmese might have been very cruel in their conduct of war, but towards prisoners of war who were made to settle down in Burma, they were invariably tolerant and considerate, and oppression was almost unknown, provided, of course, these people themselves were loyal and law-abiding. Inter-marriage between the Siamese and Burmese would be very easy and common, as there was no barrier to their union, either religious or social, and inter-marriage is a great factor in the effacement of racial and national characteristics.—Thien.

I The Siamese history says that one **พจนานุกรม** **พจนานุกรม** **พจนานุกรม** was appointed by Nemyo Thilapate as governor of the city; and one **พจนานุกรม** a Burman was appointed assistant governor. Vide page 303, vol II., of **พจนานุกรมศัพท์**. But on page 288 of the same **พจนานุกรม** is said to be a Mon (**มอญ**). The word **พจนานุกรม** is undoubtedly the Siamese equivalent of the Burmese word "Thu-gri," who was a petty administrative official in charge generally of a village and sometimes of a township, but much lower in rank to a governor, who was called "Myo-wun." The Burmese history made no mention of the appointment probably because the position was not very important, and the appointment would be made without any orders from His Burman Majesty.

territory, it is very probable that the Burmese found it absolutely necessary to withdraw all their forces to meet the Chinese invasion. Another probable reason is that both officers and men were completely exhausted after their arduous task in effecting the capture of the Siamese capital, and thoroughly home-sick after having been away from hearth and home for about three years. Therefore, no one wished to suggest the leaving of a force to hold the country, and much less cared to remain behind. Moreover, it would have required a very much bigger force than the Burmese could possibly have spared at the time, to occupy the whole length and breadth of Siam, wherein every town of any importance was a fortress fully equipped with means of offence and defence.

A force of five regiments containing 5,000 men under the command of Min-yè Min-hla Uzana, governor of Mòttama, made up of 3,000 men from the Burmese capital and 2,000 men from Mòttama, was already on the way to Siam, via Ta-yaik, to reinforce the army operating against Yodaya, having been sent thither before the Burmese Monarch was apprised of the fall of the beleaguered city. The two forces met at the confluence of two rivers, a place probably beyond Ta-yaik in Siamese territory. Here Sitkè Thiri Nandameik Kyawdin, an officer in command of one of three regiments sent from the Burmese capital as reinforcements, was specially entrusted with the task of conveying, by means of rafts, the big guns brought away from the Siamese capital. Over five hundred big guns were thus conveyed, special mention being made in the Hmannan history of twin guns made of bronze, whose measurements were given as follows:—one was twelve cubits long, the length from the breech end to the "waist"¹ was six cubits and a third; the girth at the breech was eight cubits and at the muzzle six cubits and a third, the muzzle opening was one cubit and a third in diameter; and the other, on which was inscribed that 100,000 viss of bronze was used in casting it, was eleven cubits long, the length from the breech end to the "waist" was six cubits; the girth at the breech end was seven cubits and at the muzzle five cubits, the muzzle opening was one cubit and four finger breadths in diameter.

Bo-gyók Nemyo Thihapate together with the forces marching by land reached the capital in Wagaung (August) of the same year. All

1. The Burmese word used here means "the waist", but I do not know what part of the gun was called the "waist" by the Burmese historian. Probably it is that part where the hole for the priming was.—Thien.

the governors of the towns in Zimmè province, and of those on the east and west bank of the Thanlwin (Salween), and the officers of the Byeik, Dawè, and Taninthari contingents who took part in the invasion of Siam were suitably rewarded and allowed to return to their homes.

News of the accomplishment of the object of the invasion, of the return of the Burmese forces, and of the large booty of guns being conveyed by water must have been sent in advance to His Burman Majesty. He did not even wait for the arrival of his famous general, but despatched three officials with a flotilla of 100 war boats and 2,000 men to go and assist in the conveyance of the big guns. These officials met Thiri Nandameik Kyawdin at Ta-yaik. The two big guns and over 500 others were safely conveyed to Ava, arriving there in Tagu 1180 (April A. D. 1768), quite eight months after the arrival of the general and his forces at the capital.

Of the Siamese royal family who were taken to Ava, the queens, the King's sisters, daughters, nieces, and grand-daughters were given suitable residences within the palace enclosure and provided with comforts according to their rank and dignity, each being entrusted to the care of one or another of the officials of the Court. The King's brothers, sons, nephews, and grandsons were given residences outside the palace enclosure and were equally well provided for and looked after. The Siamese nobles and other Siamese were assigned certain localities to reside in. Among the royal family was one Kyank-bwa Tauk-to,¹ who was in the priesthood when brought to Ava. He retained his yellow robe and died in the priesthood in the year 1158 (A. D. 1796), after the removal of the capital to Amarapura.

The Hmannan history then records a list of Kings who reigned at Yodaya which enjoyed the name of Dwarawadi. But the list is valueless, in that it gives no dates except a very few in connection with events which were of importance to the Burmese. The following is the list in the order of succession to the throne:—

1. เจ้าฟ้าคอกเคอ See พระราชพงษาวดารเล่ม ๒ หน้า ๒๓๘

LIST OF KINGS WHO REIGNED AT AYUDHYA.

Serial No.	Name of King	Relationship	Remarks
1	Bra Yazapati		พระยาขามปัตติ คือ สมเด็จพระบรมราชาธิบดี ที่ ๑ Founded the capital of Yodaya in the year 710 (A. D. 1348).
2	Bra Ramaphun	Son of No. 1	พระรามเมศวร คือ สมเด็จพระรามเมศวร.
3	Parama Yaza	„ „ No. 2	บรมราชา คือ สมเด็จพระบรมราชาธิราช ที่ ๑.
4	Maha Damayaza	„ „ No. 3	มหาธรรมราชา. Probably refers to แผ่นดินสมเด็จพระรามเมศวรครั้งที่ ๒.
5	Bra Setkabat	„ „ No. 4	พระจักรพรรดิ. Probably refers to สมเด็จพระเจ้ารามราชาธิราช.
6	Pawra Ponthan	„ „ No. 5	Probably สมเด็จพระอินทราชาธิราช ที่ ๑.
7	Parama Yazadiyaza	„ „ No. 6	บรมราชาธิราช คือ สมเด็จพระบรมราชาธิราช ที่ ๒.
8	Parama Tilawka	„ „ No. 7	บรมไตรโลกะ คือ สมเด็จพระบรมไตรโลกนาถ.
9	Bra Yazapati	„ „ No. 8	พระยาขามปัตติ. Probably สมเด็จพระบรมราชาธิบดี ที่ ๒.

Serial No.	Name of King	Relationship	Remarks
10	Bra Thadiyaza	Son of No. 9	Probably สมเด็จพระไชยราชาธิราช .
11	Bra Thiri Zurapa	" " No. 10	คือสมเด็จพระยอดฟ้า .
12	Mother of No. 11		คือนางพระยาแม่อยู่หัวศรีสุดาจันทร์ .
13	Bra Thadiyaza		คือสมเด็จพระมหาจักรพรรดิราชาธิราช . During this King's reign, Mintara Shweti, King of Hanthawadi, conquered Yodaya in the year 910 (A. D. 1548). But about a year afterwards Mintara Shweti died and Yodaya became again independent.
14	Bra Mahein	" " No. 13	In the year 925 (A. D. 1563), King Sinbyushin of Hanthawadi, the famous Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata, invaded Siam and captured the capital. He placed King Bra Thadiyaza's eldest son Bra Mahein (คือสมเด็จพระมหินทราธิราช) on the throne, and took away to Hanthawadi, King Bra Thadiyaza and his second son Bra Ramathun (พระรามศวร) and also Aukbra Setki (เจ้าพระยาจักรี). King Bra Thadiyaza was maintained in Hanthawadi in a double roofed house painted white. Subsequently, he got permission to enter the priesthood and to go to Yodaya on a pilgrimage.

Serial No.	Name of King	Relationship	Remarks
15	Sawbwa Thaungkyi or Bra Narit	Son-in-law of No. 13.	<p>But on arrival there he left the priesthood and in conjunction with his son Bra Mahein declared independence.</p> <p>In the year 930 (A. D. 1568), King Sinbyushin of Hanthawadi again invaded Siam, and in the year following captured the capital. He then placed King Bra Thadiyaza's son-in-law, Sawbwa Thaungkyi (เจ้าฟ้าสองแคว ? คือ พระมหาธรรมราชา หรือ สมเด็จพระสรรเพชญ์ที่ ๑), on the throne. In the year 934 (A.D. 1572), during the reign of his son Ngazu Dayaka, Sawbwa Thaungkyi assumed the title of Bra Narit¹ (พระนเรศวรมหาราช) and declared independence.</p>
16	Bra Thiri		<p>พระศิริ. Probably สมเด็จพระสรรเพชญ์ที่ ๕ (ปราสาททอง).</p>
17	Bra Narayana	Son of No. 16	<p>พระนารายณ์ คือ สมเด็จพระนารายณ์ที่ ๓ (พระนารายณ์มหาราช).</p>
18	Bra Beikta Yaza	,, ,, No. 17	<p>พระกิตติราชา คือ สมเด็จพระมหาบุรุษ (พระพุทธราชา).</p>

1. The Burmese historian evidently thought that พระมหา ธรรมราชา and พระนเรศวร were one and the same person.

Serial No.	Name of King	Relationship	Remarks
19	Bra Burathat	Son of No. 18	คือ สมเด็จพระสรรเพชญ์ที่ ๘ (พระเจ้าเสือ).
20	Parama Zeta	" " No. 19	บรมเชษฐ คือ สมเด็จพระสรรเพชญ์ที่ ๘ (พระเจ้าท้ายสระ).
21	Bra Thiri Damayaza	" " No. 20	พระศรีธรรมราชา คือ สมเด็จพระบรมราชาธิราชที่ ๓ (พระบรมโกศ).
22	Kyaukbwa Taukto	" " No. 21	King Bra Thiri Damayaza had two sons, the elder was Kyaukbwa Ekadat (เจ้าฟ้าเอกทัศ) and the younger Kyaukbwa Taukto (เจ้าฟ้าคอกเค่อ). He ordered that on his demise his younger son Kyaukbwa Taukto should succeed him, as he thought the elder was incapable of ruling the country. On his death his instructions were carried out and Kyaukbwa Taukto was raised to the throne by the nobles. About four or five days after his accession to the throne, Kyaukbwa Taukto went to the monastery of the supreme head of the Buddhist Order and asked to be admitted as a priest. The Buddhist supreme head said it would not be right to admit him into the priesthood, and advised him to govern the country as desired by his father. About three

Serial No.	Name of King	Relationship	Remarks
23	Kyaukbwa Ekadat	Brother of No. 22	<p>months after, Kyaukbwa Taukto called his elder brother to the palace, and having handed over the palace and the kingdom to the latter, entered the priesthood.</p> <p>When the Siamese capital fell into the hands of the Burmese in the year 1129 (A. D. 1767), Kyaukbwa Ekadat was killed in the confusion following the capture, and Kyaukbwa Taukto was taken to Ava still wearing the yellow robe. He remained in the priesthood till he died in 1158 (A. D. 1796).</p>

SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT
OF THE SAME.

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<p>Naungdoagyî succeeds to the throne.</p>	<p>Alaunghprâ, at his death, left six sons by his first wife. He had expressed a wish that those of his sons who survived him should succeed to the throne in the order of their seniority. The eldest son, who was Ainslêmeng, or heir-apparent, had remained at the capital as regent during the Siamese expedition. He is styled in Burmese history Naungdoagyî. Though at first there was in the attitude of Myêdu Meng some appearance of opposition, it soon became evident that he intended to be loyal to his brother; but resistance to the Ainslêmeng was made by the most trusty officer of Alaunghprâ, the cause of which has not been explained. When Myêdu Meng left the army to bear the body of his father to Motsobo, the command devolved on Meng Khaung Noarahtâ. He</p>
<p>Rebellion of Meng Khaung Noarahtâ</p>	<p>led the remnant of the army to Taungu, where a brother of Alaunghprâ was governor. The governor, acting upon orders from the capital, where suspicion of the designs of the general had been excited, attempted to arrest him. He escaped the snare which</p>
<p>A. D. 1760, about 25th of June.</p>	<p>had been laid for him, and seeing no safety for himself but in resistance, marched to Ava, and, expelling the governor of that city, occupied it.</p>

<p>About the 5th.</p>	<p>The king sent him a friendly message, inviting him to come without fear to the royal presence. He, well knowing that forgiveness was impossible, refused. Naungdoagyî, without delay, marched on Ava, and, establishing his head-quarters at Sagaing, closely invested the city. All attacks were repulsed by the garrison, but famine did its work, and the rebel general, seeing that surrender was inevitable, fled from the city, accompanied by a few horsemen, in December 1760. Not far from the city he separated from his escort and was shot in the jungle. The city surrendered shortly after.</p>
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In the following year the king's uncle, who still governed Taungu, fell under suspicion. He failed to obey a summons to submit himself, and the king marched with an army to reduce him to obedience. The city was encompassed by a high wall, beyond which was an earthen rampart with a broad and deep moat. The king himself remained in camp directing the operations. During the blockade the famous commander Talabân, who was now in the service of the king of Zimmè, entered the territory of Martaban with a considerable force, and for a time appeared to threaten an attack on the besieging army. It was not until January 1762 that the city surrendered. The King pardoned his uncle, and without delay ordered a march on Zimmè to punish the insult which had been offered by an invasion of Burmese territory. Talabân was still at the head of a force in the country between the rivers Salwin and Thaungyin. He, his wife, and family were captured; and though in the Burmese history it is stated that his life was spared, it is to be feared that the general who had nobly fought for the cause of the last king of Pegu, was secretly put to death. The expedition against Zimmè was successful. The capital of that state was occupied without much difficulty. The remaining months of the reign of Naungdoagyi passed without any important incident. He devoted himself to erecting religious buildings, and while so employed died suddenly about the end of November 1763.

Governor of
Taungu rebels.Death of
Talabân.Death of
Naungdoagyi

His next brother, Myêdu Meng, who has since become known as Hsengbyusheng, succeeded without opposition. He inherited his father's energy and military talent, and soon after his accession took preliminary measures for future operations against Siam, to avenge the insult which Alaunghprâ had received at Ayuthia. He reinforced the army at Zimmè with twenty thousand men under Thihapatè.

Hseubuysheng
becomes King.Preparations
against Siam.
February 7,
1764.

New officials were appointed to the provinces in all parts of the empire, including the Shan states to the north of the capital. The same year, as the position of Muthsobo was felt to be inconvenient for the seat of government, orders were given to rebuild Ava. In November an army of twenty thousand men under Mahā Noarahtā, which had been raised in the lower provinces, marched from Martaban on Tavoy to operate against Siam from the south-west.

Expedition to Manipur. Not content with the extensive preparations against Siam, the king, in boundless confidence in his fortune and resources, determined at once to punish

A. D. 1764. the chief of Manipur for some incursions which his subjects had made on the frontier. At the close of the rainy season, an army marched from the capital westward to Kannimyu on the Hkyengdwen, and there waited for the king, who went by water. The army of Manipur was defeated. The Rājā and his family fled to the hills. The chief city was taken, and hundreds of people were carried off as captives. The king returned to his capital in April 1765. While his

The city of Ava armies were operating in the distant enterprise against reoccupied. Siam, the building of the palace at Ava was completed

A. D. 1766. by the middle of April, when the king and his whole court proceeded to that city. The large population which soon gathered, and the numerous foreign traders who established themselves, showed the advantages of this site for the capital over that of the native city of the founder of the dynasty.

Operations in Zimmè and Laos. Thihipatè, who had been sent to command the forces in Zimmè, reduced the whole of the territory to obedience. In order to secure his rear when he should advance to the capital of Siam, he marched against the king of Lengzeng, whose capital was then Muanglim,¹ on the river Mèkhaung, to the north-east

1. This is the town where the expedition from French Cochinchina under M. de Lagrée left the river and proceeded by land to Kyaingtun.

of Zimmè. The king at the head of his forces met the Burmese army some days' march from his capital and was defeated. Thihapatè marched on the city, and the king submitted and agreed to be tributary to the king of Burma. Returning south, the general fixed his head quarters at Lagwun, subdued all the Shân states eastwards, levied contributions, and forced the chiefs to supply auxiliary contingents to his army.

Mahâ Noarahtâ, who commanded the southern army, remained at Tavoy during the rainy season of 1765. He received reinforcements from Pegu, and resumed his march about the middle of October. Proceeding southward to within a few marches of Mergui, he crossed the mountain range of the peninsula nearly by the route which had been followed by Alaunghprâ, and reached Kamburî. Marching from thence direct on Ayuthia, he had a severe battle with the Siamese to the west of that city, in which he was victorious. He took many prisoners, elephants, and guns. Not hearing of the army marching from Zimmè under Thihapatè, he halted at Kanni, a village in the neighbourhood of the Siamese capital.

March of the
southern army
on Siam.

The northern army marched from Lagwun about the middle of August. Thihapatè had under his command more than forty thousand men, chiefly Shâns. As he proceeded south he was much delayed by the resistance of the towns of some petty chiefs. At length all opposition was overcome, and the army having received additional Shân troops, assembled at Pitsalauk, a town on a branch of the Menâm in its upper course. The route was pursued down the valley of the river. The Siamese attacked the invaders, but were repulsed with heavy loss; and Thihapatè, continuing his march, took up a position on the east side of Ayuthia about the 20th of January 1766. Mahâ Noarahtâ moved his camp to the north-west of the city, where communication with his colleague was more easy. The centre of his new position was at a pagoda which had been built

March of the
northern army.
A. D. 1765.

Capital of
Siam
invested.

by Bureng Naung.

Progress of
the siege.

The King of Siam had made careful preparations to defend his capital. The fortifications consisted of a high brick wall with a broad wet ditch. There were numerous guns or jingals mounted. The king, advised by his minister, Bayá Kuratít, attacked the force under Thihapatè before the junction of the two armies had been effected. The attack failed, and a few days later, when a sally was made against the army of Mahá Noarahtá, a desperate battle ensued, in which the Siamese were defeated with the loss of several thousand men killed and made prisoners. The two Burmese armies now completely hemmed in the city with a line of works. The place was too strong and too well defended to be taken by assault, and as time passed and no signs of surrender appeared, the approach of the dreaded rainy season with the rise of the river, which more than once in former times had saved the city, caused alarm among the besiegers. Many officers of high rank advised Mahá Noarahtá to retreat to another position until the dry season ; but he firmly refused, and was supported by his colleague Thihapatè. When the water rose and flooded the country, the besiegers occupied such bits of high ground as there were, and threw up dykes to keep out the water. They had collected hundreds of boats, which were kept fully manned, but the line of intrenchment round the city was for the time rendered useless. The Siamese made attacks, both by land and water, on the Burmese, who now were broken up into separate corps ; but these attacks were unsuccessful.

When the water subsided, the Burmese commanders, with steady persevering labour, again began the construction of earthworks round the city, and gained more complete command of the river than before. The citizens became straitened for provisions. A body of Sháns from the north attempted to relieve the city by an attack on the besiegers, but were repulsed

and dispersed. The King of Siam, with his family and a number of the leading inhabitants, attempted to escape but were driven back. The king, in despair, wrote to the Burmese generals offering to become tributary to Burma. The reply was in contemptuous terms, and required unconditional surrender. Just at this time Mahā Noarahtā died. But this event did not affect the operations of the war. Reinforcements and orders to persevere came from Ava. The Burmese, having command of the whole resources of the country, successfully prevented food supplies from entering the city. The garrison, unable any longer to defend the walls, yielded to a general attack by the besiegers. The city was entirely destroyed by fire¹. The king, Ekādatha Rājā, was killed in the confusion. His brother, Brāun Soasān recognised the body near the western gate of the palace. The queen and the whole of the royal family were taken prisoners and carried away captive. Immense treasures and stores of war material were found in the palace. The conquest was effected at a critical moment for Burmese interests. Thihapatē had received orders to return home, for the Burmese monarchy was once more threatened by a Chinese invasion. The army, marching rapidly, reached Ava in July; the Shān auxiliaries were allowed to return to their own countries.

City taken,
April A. D.
1767.

1. In the history of Siam it is correctly stated that this siege occupied nearly two years, 1766 and 1767 A.D. In a brief history of Siam published in the Chinese Repository, and said to have been written by the King of Siam, this siege is confused with that by Alaunghprā in 1760. The date for the capture of the city is given as March 1767. See Bowring's Siam, vol. I., p. 58, and vol. II., p. 347.

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